

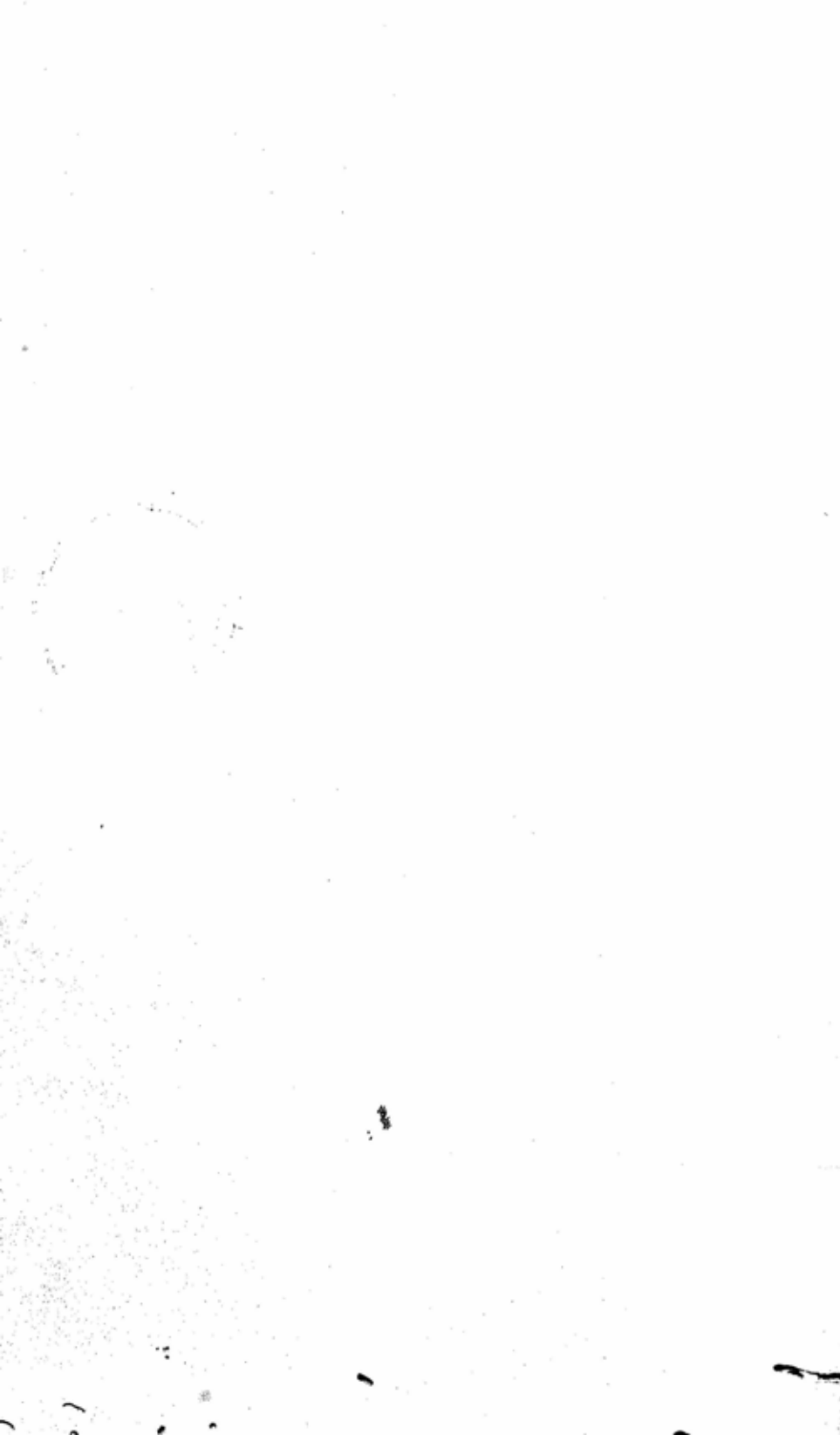
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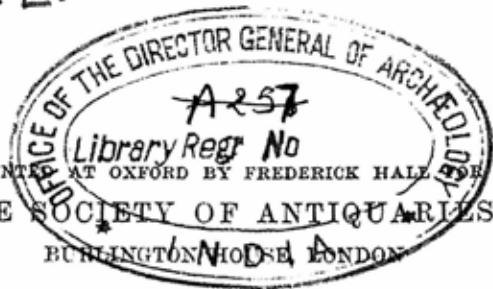
SECOND SERIES, VOL. XXXII



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LIST OF PAPERS, ETC., PRINTED IN FULL

	PAGE
Report as Local Secretary for Hampshire; by W. Dale, Esq., F.S.A.	3
A holy-water stoup or mortar, from St. Bartholomew the Great; by E. A. Webb, Esq., F.S.A.	4
The chronology of flint daggers; by Reginald Smith, Esq., F.S.A.	6
Excavations at El-Mukayyar, Abu Shahrain, and El-'Obeid; by H. R. Hall, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	27
An Anglo-Saxon carving; by O. M. Dalton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	45
A detail from the mosaic pavement at Umm Jerar; by O. M. Dalton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	47
A sculptured marble slab from northern Mesopotamia; by O. M. Dalton, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	54
The Breadalbane brooch; by Sir Hercules Read, President, and Reginald Smith, Esq., F.S.A.	63
The ancient manor house of the bishopric of Winchester at Esher; by Rev. J. K. Floyer, M.A., F.S.A.	69
Report as Local Secretary for Sussex; by R. Garraway Rice, Esq., F.S.A.	79
Some Bronze Age and other antiquities; by O. G. S. Crawford, Esq.	85
Two bronze bracelets belonging to the Royal Institution of Cornwall; by Reginald Smith, Esq., F.S.A.	97
The excavations at Fostât; by Somers Clarke, Esq., F.S.A.	101
A bamboo staff of dignity of the seventeenth century; by Right Rev. Bishop Browne, D.D., F.S.A.	109
The 'Devil's Ninepins' at Ipsden; by H. G. W. d'Almaine, Esq.	111
A gold ring from Meaux Abbey; by H. Clifford Smith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	112
Cups and other objects in turned wood; by H. Clifford Smith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	114
Some English alabaster tables; by Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A.	117

	PAGE
Sassanian (?) fort, el-Quseir	36
The mound and camp, Tell el-'Obeid	36
Sketch-plan of the mound and building at Tell el-'Obeid	37
Large lion-head: bitumen core. Before 3000 B.C. Tell el-'Obeid	38
Panther head: bitumen core and copper mask. Before 3000 B.C. Tell el-'Obeid	38
Copper bull's head and heads of birds. Before 3000 B.C. Tell el-'Obeid	39
Stag's head from the copper Ingig-relief. Before 3000 B.C. Tell el-'Obeid	40
Mosaic pillar. Before 3000 B.C. Tell el-'Obeid	41
The south-east face of the Ziggurat at Ur, May 1919	41
Carved ivory panel from St. Cross in the Winchester Museum	46
The Phoenix on the fire-altar: detail from the mosaic of Umm Jerar	48
A fire-altar: detail from the carved ivory pyxis at Berlin	52
Carved marble slabs from Miafarkin, North Mesopotamia	55
Mosaic of the eleventh century at Daphni: The prayer of Joachim and Anna	59
The Breadalbane brooch: front, and back of terminals	
	<i>Plate facing</i> 66
Esher Place, from a plan of 1606	71
Plan of Esher Place as excavated	<i>Plate facing</i> 72
Palaeolithic implement found at Woodshill, Sussex	80
Flint implement from Grime's Graves, Norfolk	82
Palaeolithic hand-axe found near Moyles Court, Hants.	87
Palaeolithic axe found at Brimpton, Berks.	88
Flint axe found near Newbury, Berks.	89
Leaf-shaped arrow-head found at Woodcote Park, Surrey	91
Rim-piece of neolithic pottery found under a Long Barrow at Wexcombe, Wilts.	91
Roman surgical instrument found near Weston-sub-Edge, Gloucestershire	94
Bronze bracelet from Cornwall	98
'The Devil's Ninepins', Ipsden, Berks.	112
Gold ring found at Meaux Abbey, Yorks.	113
Alabaster table with St. Edward	119
Mark on back of Betrayal Table	121
Alabaster table of the Resurrection of the Dead	122

	PAGE
Alabaster image of St. Barbara	123
Alabaster image of St. Clement	125
Wooden image of the Trinity in San Sebastian Museum	127
English processional cross and staff <i>Plate facing</i>	130
Medieval enamelled travelling candlestick	133
Two roods and a figure of our Lady and Child from Spain	<i>Plate facing</i> 136
Seal of Harold's College of Waltham Holy Cross	145
Iron arrow-heads from Marathon	148
Details of iron arrow-heads from Marathon	149
Bronze arrow-heads from Cyprus	150
Iron arrow-head from Egypt	150
Modern Asiatic arrow-heads	151
Japanese arrow-head of the seventeenth century	151
Types of bronze arrow-heads from Greece	153
Papuan arrow armed with a hollow bone	154
Silver coins of Crete, showing the Cretan arrow-head	155
Plan of Silchester, Hants, in its original form as a Celtic settlement	187
French examples of Gaulish cities	190
Italian examples of Gaulish cities--Valley of the Po	190
Plan of Silchester, illustrating its Gaulish character	191
Plans of Silchester and other towns, illustrating their polygonal form	193
Lines of banks and ditch to north of Chichester	195
Door lintel with shields, Larnaca, Cyprus	205
Restoration of achievement of arms: Palazzo Publico, Nicosia, Cyprus	205
Cyprus heraldry: Nos. 1-48	215
Cyprus heraldry: Nos. 49-96	216
Cyprus heraldry: Nos. 97-144	217
Cyprus heraldry: Nos. 145-192	218
Cyprus heraldry: Nos. 193-212	219
Head of military effigy: Peterborough Museum	239



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

SESSION 1919-1920.

THURSDAY, 20th NOVEMBER 1919.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

Charles Singer, Esq., M.D., was admitted a Fellow.

The PRESIDENT referred in sympathetic terms to the grave losses the Society had suffered by death in its ranks since the last meeting. They included Professor Leonard King, Professor Haverfield, Sir Charles Chadwick Hcaley, Mr. Thomas Boynton, and Mr. W. J. Hardy. In their several archaeological fields and in other directions their deaths had made serious gaps in the Society and in the scientific resources of the country. It would be difficult—probably impossible—to find an Assyrian scholar in Britain who was in all respects capable of taking Professor King's place, and that want would speedily become the more obvious in view of the investigations that England ought to make, and probably would make, in the newly opened fields in Mesopotamia.

By Professor Haverfield's death Roman epigraphy had lost an exponent who was *facile princeps* in this country, and Roman archaeology in general would lose much.

Mr. W. J. Hardy represented quite another school of study, that of records, but he was one of the rarer type of Fellows who could be relied upon to add something to the discussion of any paper related to his line of work. In addition he possessed a genial and charming personality that would be greatly missed in the social life of the Society.

Sir William Hope had been so much identified with the

Society during the last quarter century both as its Assistant-Secretary and later as its welcome guest that the Society would take pleasure in putting on record its appreciation of the great services he had rendered to archaeology, and at the same time to express the profound sorrow felt at his relatively early death. The President then moved from the Chair the following resolution, which was seconded by W. Minet, Esq., Treasurer, and carried unanimously, the Fellows signifying their assent by rising in their places :

‘The Society desires to record on the minutes of its proceedings the regret of its Fellows at the death of Sir William Henry St. John Hope, who was for twenty-five years the accomplished Assistant-Secretary of the Society. His contributions to *Archaeologia* were so frequent that they occur in every volume from the 49th to the 68th (one only excepted), and number more than fifty. It was a satisfaction to the Fellows that he found pleasure, after his retirement from office, in continuing to attend the meetings of the Society and take part in its discussions.’

A. W. CLAPHAM, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the Latin monastic remains of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which will be printed in the *Journal* of the Society.

The particular aspect of a very extensive subject considered in the paper was the surviving buildings of the Augustinian convent attached to the church of the Latin kingdom. This side of the subject had been but little dealt with, mainly owing to the secularization of most of the site and the consequent difficulty of access. Since the British occupation a complete survey of the remaining buildings had been possible and an almost complete plan of the Latin Monastery had been procured. The surviving portions included parts of the Great Cloister, Dormitory, Refectory, Chapter House, Little Cloister, and Infirmary. The last two named buildings and the Chapter House were practically new discoveries and most of the other buildings had not before been accurately planned. The architecture of these remains exhibited a curious mixture of Western and Byzantine forms and was also marked by the extensive use of antique material. As a monastic plan they displayed all the usual features of Western monachism, but with a cloister planned to the east of the church, no other position being available on the site. The surviving remains were mostly in a deplorable state of decay, and it was to be hoped that under British control these conditions might be remedied and the remains preserved.

Sir THOMAS JACKSON had never seen Jerusalem, but found much of interest in the paper and looked forward to studying the

plans at leisure. An incalculable amount of work still remained to be done there, and progress should be made under the British régime. The pulvinated voussoir also occurred at Palermo in a building dating from the end of the twelfth century.

Mr. FRESHFIELD said the building at Palermo was a pavilion formed out of a Norman palace called the Cuba, the latter being dated by an inscription recording its erection by William the Good in 1185.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the paper was not the first archaeological product of the War, but would always have a special significance. One of the most precious sites in the world had been restored to Christian custody, and he thought the present administration might be trusted to treat it and others in the proper spirit. The preservation of sites in Jerusalem was one of the first schemes considered by a special committee which had aimed at establishing an institute there as head-quarters; and he hoped to give details of its activities further afield on a future occasion. The work, necessary as it was, could only be carried on if adequate funds were provided. Mr. Clapham's clear handling of a most intricate subject deserved the warm thanks of the Society.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 27th NOVEMBER 1919.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

Gavin Haynes Jack, Esq., and William Selfe Weeks, Esq.,
were admitted Fellows.

WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.S.A., communicated the following report as Local Secretary for Hampshire:

I am showing this evening two palaeolithic implements from the gravel pits at Dunbridge, near Romsey. These pits are now in the hands of a lessee who stringently forbids his men to part with any implements they find, so that the work of obtaining them is not so easy as formerly. It will be remembered that a feature of the palaeoliths from this locality is their beautiful white patina and the unabraded character of most of the

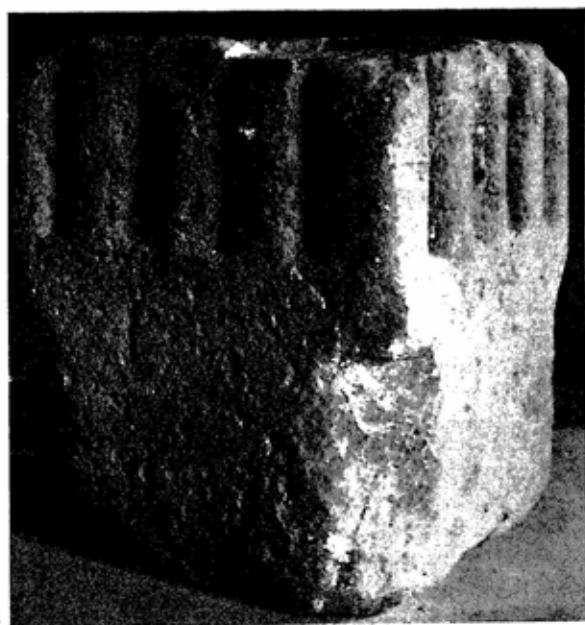
specimens. A fine series is now exhibited in the county museum at Winchester where the whole of my collection of prehistoric and Roman objects has found a home. After the disposal of my collection I had brought to me two implements of an unusual character which I have thought worthy of exhibition. Both have the white patina and are unworn, but differ somewhat from the usual types. We have always been taught to believe the fundamental difference between a palaeolith and a neolith to consist in the transference of the business end of the weapon from the point to the butt end. Here, however, are two palaeoliths which have obviously been made for use at the butt end and they may possibly mark a transitional stage in the evolution of the neolithic celt. The pointed implement of St. Acheul type may have been trimmed at the butt end at a subsequent date.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH emphasized the resemblance of both implements to those found by the late Mr. Worthington Smith in brick-earth at Caddington and elsewhere. Their condition, patination, and types proclaimed them as products of one industry, between St. Acheul and Le Moustier; and the period of La Micoque, which filled the gap in France, was in fact well represented by the larger implement which had near the point one face nearly flat and the other gabled, with the ridge not in the middle line. Mr. Dale's two gifts to the British Museum confirmed the view that the Dunbridge pit was of the first importance, and much could still be expected from it.

The PRESIDENT said the Society was indebted to Mr. Dale for a sight of the specimens, and hoped that certain restrictions would not altogether prevent more acquisitions from the pit. Such discoveries still contained an element of doubt as the classification was neither perfect nor universally admitted; and the only remedy was accurate observation of the circumstances attending every find. Visitors to Winchester would do well to inspect Mr. Dale's collection in the museum there, and in his opinion the transfer was a public service on which all concerned were to be congratulated.

E. A. WEBB, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a holy-water stoup or mortar, dug up last August in Middlesex Passage, Bartholomew Close, by workmen excavating for a manhole to the sewer. It was found 4 ft. from the angle of house No. 1 in the passage and 3 ft. below the pavement built into the brick angle of a wall. It was taken by the men to the Curator of the Guildhall Museum, who very kindly handed it to the Rector and Churchwardens of St. Bartholomew the Great.

Middlesex Passage gave entrance from the Close under the dorter of St. Bartholomew's Priory to the monastic infirmary, as at Westminster. The passage is now diverted, skirting the north side of the infirmary site; it is therefore a fair inference that the stone came originally from the infirmary. The stone measures 8 in. square, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. high; it has a reeded ornamental band $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, the angles below which are chamfered. The bowl is circular and measures $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. across and $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. deep. There are no signs of it having been fixed to a wall or a pedestal,



HOLY-WATER STOUP OR MORTAR FROM ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT (3).

which favours the conclusion that it was a mortar; on the other hand there are no signs in the bowl of use as a mortar, and the ornamentation is unusual for a mortar, which suggests that it may have been used as a stoup. It is made of Reigate stone and dates from the latter part of the twelfth century. Rahere's successor, Thomas, was prior from 1144 to 1174, and as he built the cloister and chapter house it may be attributed to his time.

The SECRETARY was glad to see the exhibit, though he could not accept it as a stoup, which took the form of a pillar and

capital in the twelfth century. A mortar necessarily had projections on the outside for holding it still when in use, as in the specimen now exhibited, which might date from between 1175 and 1200.

The PRESIDENT thought the Secretary's opinion was final on the point in question, and Mr. Webb had been anything but dogmatic. The thanks of the Society were due to the Rector, to Mr. Webb, and the other churchwarden of St. Bartholomew's.

REGINALD SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on the Chronology of Flint Daggers.

Possibly because the early Stone Age is so well represented in England, finds of the neolithic period have received but scant attention, and our classification is far behind that generally accepted in Scandinavia, where relics of the late Stone Age are abundant and no palaeolithic period was suspected till quite recently. On all hands it is agreed that there was traffic between the east and west shores of the North Sea before the invention of metal; and the flint dagger will serve as well as any other type to show the extent and limitations of that intercourse. It is quite possible that the dagger was descended from a diminutive form on this side of the water; in any case the early specimens show a closer connexion between Britain and Scandinavia than the later stages—a fact that can be easily explained by reference to associated finds and the general progress of civilization in north-western Europe.

Our museums and collectors possess thousands of neolithic surface finds, but very few *groups* of specimens have been discovered, or at least recorded; and the abundant evidence from Scandinavian burials of the late neolithic is, therefore, all the more welcome. A sequence of dagger forms has long been recognized in connexion with megalithic and other burials, but it was only the other day that the 'dagger-period' became a definite technical term in archaeology; and a few words of explanation are necessary for the English reader.

The last great division of the neolithic is the megalithic period, which is subdivided as follows, in chronological order:—

ENGLAND.	DENMARK AND SOUTH SWEDEN.
Dolmens. Chambered long barrows (Passage-graves). Round barrows (Copper or Bronze Age).	Dolmens. Giants' chambers (Passage-graves). Cist-burials (latest Neolithic).

It is stated in Evans's *Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., that flint daggers are generally between 5 in. and 7 in. in length and 1½ in. to 2½ in. in

width. Of lanceolate form, they are in most cases broadest near the point, and the butt is rounded or truncated, being normally the thickest part. The faces are equally convex and the outlines as a rule symmetrical, but there are many exceptions. Towards the butt, the sides usually approach a straight line, and these edges are often rounded by grinding, either for holding in the hand or to prevent the binding being cut. Those with notches were evidently hafted, and the method is illustrated by specimens from the north-west coast of America (Brit. Mus. *Stone Age Guide*, fig. 139). A number of specimens are cited, and four illustrated by Evans, figs. 264 (Lambourn Downs); 265 (Thames); 266 (Burnt Fen, Prickwillow, Ely); and 267 (Arbor Low).

In 1904 the Hon. John (now Lord) Abercromby wrote,¹ in connexion with beakers and associated objects, 'the flint daggers and arrow-heads, the stone axes and axe-hammers, the jet buttons with the V-shaped perforation at the base, and the stone bracers, are all inheritances and survivals from the later neolithic period, but the line of development that each of these sets of objects took has not been worked out.' In his list are eight burials with flint daggers, and the beakers associated with them are all grouped in Type A, described as follows: 'the body is more or less globose; the body and neck are almost equal in height; at the base of the neck there is a constriction; the neck is wide with straight sides, which expand more or less; and sometimes the neck curves slightly inwards towards the top.' This is evidently regarded as the earliest type of beaker in the country; and this dating is confirmed by the absence of bronze or copper from the burials quoted, and, indeed, from all accompanied by flint-daggers.

Dr. Thurnam noticed them in his paper on Ancient British Barrows (*Archaeologia*, xliii. 412), and in recent years Mr. St. George Gray has made a short list, in connexion with the fine example found during his excavation of Wick barrow in Somerset.

The Wick barrow, in the parish of Stoke-Courcy (Stogursey), was excavated in 1907 and a report issued in the following year.² With skeleton no. 2, which was strongly flexed, were found a beaker resting against the right humerus, and a flint dagger almost touching the base of the pelvis, a small flint knife lying near (fig. 1). The skull had been shattered by a slab of lias, but the index was about 74 (dolichocephalic), and was that of a male about 5 ft. 7 in. in stature. The dagger is 5½ in. long

¹ *Journ. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxii, 391, supplemented by his *Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (1912).

² With plates of the finds, plan of the barrow, sketch of the burials, &c.: see pp. 30, 37, 44 (Taunton Castle, 1908).

and has a slight notch on both edges at $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the butt, no doubt for cord or sinew to bind it to a handle. Most of the surface is whitish grey and porcellanous, but there remains a patch of indigo blue, almost the colour of the natural flint. Other specimens found with beakers are cited, and mention made of five in Taunton Castle Museum—four from the turbaries west of Glastonbury and the other from an unknown site in Somerset.

In a valley called Garton Slack, east of Wetwang, E. R. Yorks., the late Mr. Mortimer explored a number of barrows, of which one (numbered 37) contained the remains of fourteen bodies. One burial (no. 6) was vertically below another and 1 ft. below the base of the mound, consequently one of the earliest, if not

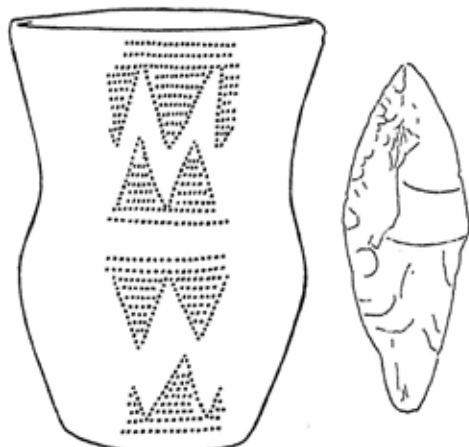


Fig. 1. WICK BARROW, STOGURSEY, SOM. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

the earliest, of the group. Behind the skull, near the right shoulder, stood a drinking-cup or beaker, against which was leaning a flint dagger $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, originally black, but turned nearly white. One edge was covered with iron oxide from having been in contact with a lump of iron pyrites which had also stained a worked flint that had evidently been used with it for striking fire. Near the dagger was a well-formed hammer-head, finely polished, and near both was a circular jet button, with the upper (convex) face finely polished. Sketches of the grave furniture are here given (fig. 2) from *Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, figs. 510, 511, 513, 514 (see p. 209); and the dagger is also illustrated in Greenwell's *British Barrows*, fig. 19; by Thurnam in *Archaeologia*, xliii. 413, fig. 100; and Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, fig. O. 13. It is attributed to Period I of

the Bronze Age (2500-2000 B.C.) by Montelius in *Archaeologia*, lxi, pl. IX, fig. 6.

Another round barrow (C. 52) in the same group yielded a flint dagger, 6·3 in. long, with several notches on either side, just below the middle. This again was found in contact with a jet button with V-boring, and under the left side of the skull, which was that of an old and strong-boned male, was a flint knife with chisel end, made from a flake with the bulbar face left plain. Sketches are here given (fig. 3) of the finds (cf. Mortimer, figs. 555-7, see p. 217), and it should again be remarked that



Fig. 2. GARTON SLACK, E. R. YORKS. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

the burial (no. 5) was under others, at the lowest level in the centre of the mound, the skeleton being in a flexed position.

Yet another interment of this kind was examined by Mr. Mortimer in 1905, in a sand-pit at Middleton-on-the-Wolds, E. R. Yorks; but the site had been disturbed by workmen, and the skeleton was broken up. It was calculated from a femur that the subject had exceeded 6 ft. in stature, and the skull had an index of 66 (consequently dolichocephalic in the extreme). The body had apparently been buried in a flexed position on its side, with the head towards the east. It was accompanied by

a beaker $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, with pattern impressed with a notched tool. In contact with its base was a flint dagger $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, two other flints, and a lump of iron pyrites, which had stained the dagger



Fig. 3. GARTON SLACK, E. R. YORKS. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

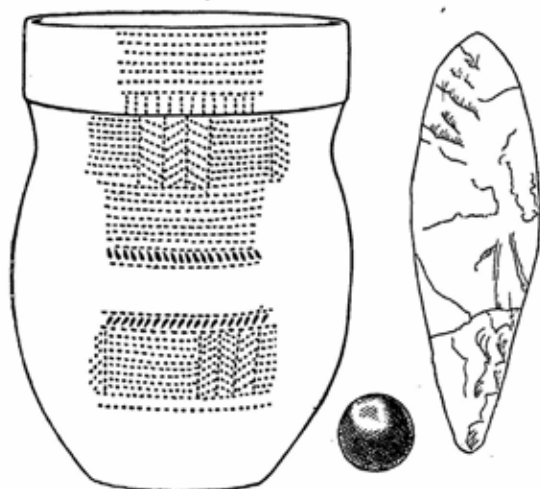


Fig. 4. MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS, E. R. YORKS. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

and affected the beaker, some of it still adhering to a strike-a-light. There was also a jet button, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, with a bone pin, which was lost: subsequently another jet button was found. The contents of the grave (fig. 4) are now at Hull and

are published in *Hull Museum Publications*, no. 55, p. 6, pl. I; also in the *Naturalist*, 1908, p. 231.

A flint dagger more leaf-shaped than usual was found by Mr. Mortimer with the primary interment in a barrow of the Acklam Wold group, E. R. Yorks. (no. 124). The contracted skeleton was that of a powerful man not less than 6 ft. in height and probably about fifty years of age. The dagger, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and of porcelain whiteness, lay below the right hand and above a flint knife, a flake, and round-headed implement of flint. Close to the point of the dagger was a small conical jet stud with the



Fig. 5. ACKLAM WOLD, E. R. YORKS. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

usual V-boring; and touching the dagger lay a lump of pyrites, and near it an oval stud of amber, perforated like the jet. Near the lower end of the left femur was a jet ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter with four borings in the circumference, and close to the skull and shoulder were fragments of a crushed beaker, the base of which bore a cruciform pattern. The chief articles are here reproduced (fig. 5 from Mortimer, figs. 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217).

The importance of a find in Green Lowe, Alsop Moor, Derbyshire, has been fully recognized (see Bateman, *Vestiges*, etc., p. 59; Davis and Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, pl. 41; Jewitt, *Grave-mounds*, etc., fig. 154; and Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, fig. O. 12). In 1845 the cist containing the primary interment was opened, and the skeleton was that of a man in the prime of

life, with the knees drawn up nearly to the head. Behind the shoulders lay a fine beaker (fig. 6), a piece of pyrites, a small flint, and dagger-blade; and behind the back, three fine barbed arrow-heads, other flints, and three bone implements, a bone pin lying across the pelvis. The skull was unusually massive and is classed as brachycephalic (index of 82), quite distinct from the normal long skull of the earlier (long) barrows.

A barrow at Nether Low, Chelmorton, Derbyshire, was

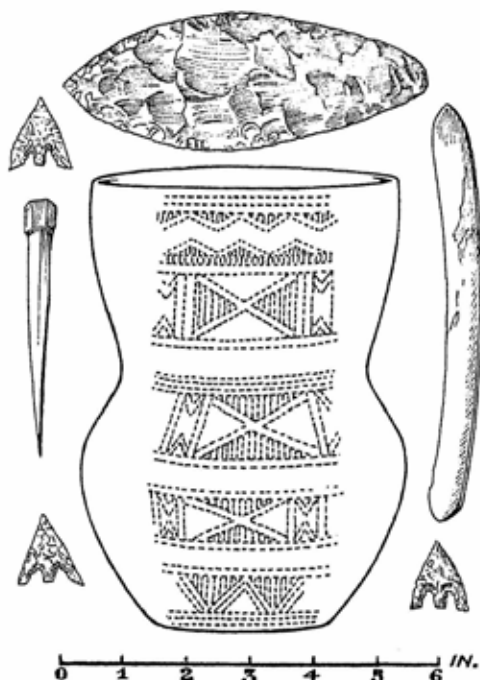


Fig. 6. GREEN LOWE, ALSOP MOOR, DERBYSHIRE ($\frac{1}{3}$).

opened by Mr. Bateman¹ in 1849 and found to contain several interments, the most important of which was that of a middle-aged man lying contracted in one of the angles of a depression of the rock. Beneath the head, in contact with the skull, was a beautiful leaf-shaped dagger of white flint, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, with the narrower half curiously serrated; and a few inches distant lay a plain spear-head of white flint. In a joint of the rock, at right angles to this interment, was a slender skeleton, probably

¹ *Ten Years' Diggings*, 52; dagger figured in *Cat. Bateman Colln.*, *Sheffield Museum*, p. 40.

of a woman, accompanied by a prism-shaped flint, a piece of haematite (these evidently for striking fire), a boar's tusk, and a large globular bead of jet, near the neck.

The primary interment, in a grave cut in chalk below a barrow (no. 39) adjoining the south side of the cursus at Stonehenge, was found by Sir Richard Colt Hoare and published with illustrations.¹ A man's skeleton lay north and south, with a beaker at the feet and close by a fine flint dagger 7 in. long and an oblong piece of stone described as 'ligniformed asbestos' (fig. 7).

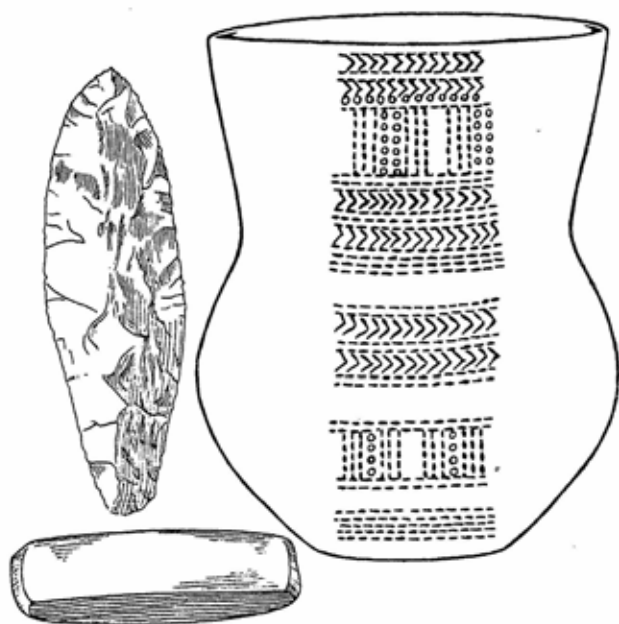


Fig. 7. STONEHENGE, WILTS. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

In the same volume (p. 172, pl. XIX) is described a burial below a large sarsen stone, found by a shepherd in pitching his fold above Durrington Walls, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Amesbury, Wilts. With the skeleton were a flint dagger ($6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long), a small hone or whetstone, a cone and ring of jet 'like a pulley', and two little buttons of marl or chalk, 'all bespeaking an interment of the earliest date' (fig. 8).

In 1857 Thomas Bateman opened three barrows on Smerrill Moor, near Middleton-by-Youlgrave, Derbyshire, the second

¹ *Ancient Wilts.*, vol. i, p. 163, pl. xvii (dagger, beaker, and oblong stone).

being of special interest.¹ The mound was 9 yards across and 2 ft. high, surrounded by an irregular circle of large blocks of limestone. At the centre, sunk in the rock to a depth of 5 ft., was a large grave, containing the skeleton of a tall young man lying on the left side with the knees drawn up and the head eastwards. The skull was posthumously distorted and unmeasurable, but a fine beaker (now at Sheffield) $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. high was recovered, also the following objects lying with it behind the pelvis—a bone tool made from an animal's rib, a flint dagger $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, a spear-head of flint 3 in. long, and four other



Fig. 8. DURRINGTON WALLS, WILTS. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

specimens of the same material 'all whitened by the action of fire'. Unfortunately the dagger and spear-head have been lost; but the former agrees in length with one without locality from the Londesborough collection, now in the British Museum.

Our Fellow Mr. Leeds has two flint daggers associated with a quartzite axe-hammer and all probably from an unburnt burial at Herdsman's Hill, Newark, near Peterborough (*Proceedings*, xxiv, 83); and recently Mr. J. W. Brooke has secured a fine example found with a skeleton and beaker at Lockeridge, near Marlborough, Wilts. Professor Keith has referred the fragmentary bones to a man about fifty years of age and 5 ft. 4 in. in stature, belonging to the round-headed beaker-folk.

¹ *Ten Years' Diggings*, 103.

No accurate record seems to have been preserved of the discovery of a flint dagger and two beakers (fig. 9) at Balsham, Cambs. They are exhibited together in Lord Braybrooke's museum at Audley End, and for the sketches here reproduced I am indebted to Mr. Maynard, curator of Saffron Walden Museum. The vessel on the right is of the type repeatedly found in association with flint daggers in Britain.

A discovery made before 1809 in a cairn on Ty Ddu farm, Llanelieu, Brecknockshire, was more fully described in 1871, and the dagger and beaker from the interment illustrated.¹ It was reported that coins were found in the tumulus, and a list is given

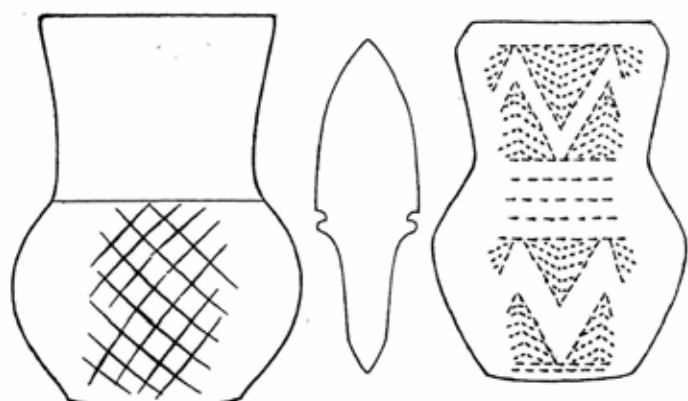


Fig. 9. BALSHAM, CAMBS. (½).

covering the whole of the Roman period in Britain; but in any case they can have had nothing to do with the primary burial. The beaker, 5½ in. high, is not of the ordinary type, and the dagger, 6.7 in. long, has a straight edge at the butt. The careless opening of the mound may account for the omission of other details from the report.

As much or as little is known of one with notches below the middle found in 1862 in a trench with a skeleton and urn at Norton Hall, Daventry, Northants; and another found with a beaker in a cist at Lilburn Steads, Wooler, Northumberland (Glasgow Museum). The pottery fragment is illustrated in Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, i, p. 33, fig. 159.

The occurrence of a flint dagger with truncated base like the Welsh specimen in ploughing 'hard by the megalithic circle' at Arbor Low² is significant (fig. 10). It is now in the British

¹ *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, iv ser., ii, 327.

² *Archaeologia*, xliii, 413; Jewitt, *Grave-mounds, &c.*, fig. 155; Evans, *Stone Impts.*, fig. 267.

Museum, and measures nearly 6 in. in length, the edges from the middle to the butt being notched to facilitate hafting. In Sir John Evans's book three others are illustrated—fig. 264 from a barrow on Lambourn Downs, Berks. (fig. 10), with a celt and finely chipped arrow-heads with barbs; but unfortunately the

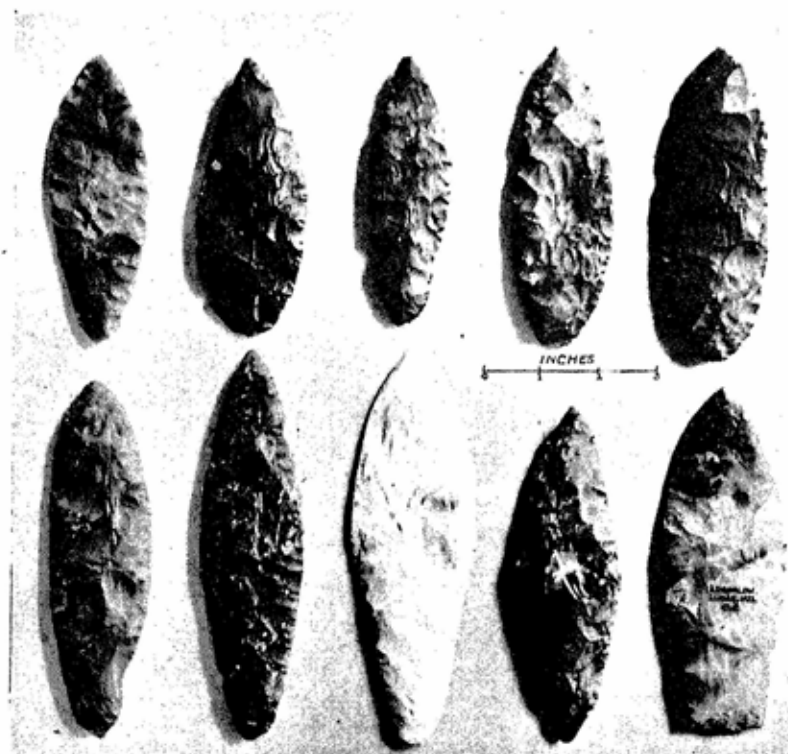


Fig. 10. FLINT DAGGERS BROADEST IN THE MIDDLE (*British Museum*).

Ransom Collection.	Burnt Fen, Mildenhall.	Topcliffe, N. R. Yorks.	Binnington Carr, E. R. Yorks.	Grays, Essex.
Thames at Battersea.	Thames opposite Ham House.	Lambourn Downs, Berks.	Irthington, Cumberland.	Arbor Low, Derbyshire.

opening of the Seven Barrows was not adequately described, and the exact association of this series in the British Museum is unknown: all have a fine white patina. His fig. 265 represents a specimen¹ 7 in. long from the Thames (fig. 11, middle) of the

¹ *Horne Ferales*, 137, pl. ii, fig. 27.



Fig. 11. FLINT DAGGERS BROADEST ABOVE THE MIDDLE (*British Museum*).

Hitcham, Bucks.	Dunmow, Essex.	Locality unknown.	Thames at Sunbury.	Kempston, Beds.
Thames near London Bridge.	Thames near Chelsea Bridge.	Thames, London.	Thames, Hammersmith.	Kingston- on-Thames.
Thames, Molesey.	Thames.	Stone House, Cookham Dene.	Quy Fen, Cambs.	Londesborough Collection.
				Hornsey, Middlesex.

type broadest near the point (possibly due to re-chipping) with prominences removed by grinding; and fig. 266, one from Burnt Fen, Prick-willow, Ely, with two decided notches on either side just below the middle.

An exceptional case was investigated by Mr. Carrington in 1850 at Three Lows, near Wetton, Staffs.¹ The largest barrow of the three had been partly opened in 1845, and a further examination brought to light a large cinerary urn, broken but still associated with burnt human bones, also a barbed arrow-head and a remarkably fine flint dagger, over 5 in. long, without the point. No mistake was possible, as the dagger had been cracked by the fire and showed a white interior due to calcination. This appears to be the only instance of this type in association with a burnt burial.

It would be tedious to enumerate isolated specimens in addition to those catalogued by Sir John Evans, but further search will be made in collections, and it may eventually be possible to draw conclusions from such finds when plotted on a map. But certain foreign specimens may be noted as rarities, occurring as they do outside the Scandinavian area. About half a dozen from Italy are illustrated in *L'Anthropologie*, 1917, pp. 41-50; and more important is a notched example found with a flint blade 7½ in. long on the site of a destroyed dolmen at Vinnac, Aveyron, France (*Matériaux etc.*, xi, 1876, p. 87). It is generally recognized, however, that French dolmens frequently contain objects considerably later than the true dolmen period, which is supposed to have ended (at least in Scandinavia) about 2500 B.C.

The above list, however imperfect, clearly establishes the rule, and facilitates the classification of flint daggers found not in graves or other sealed deposits but on the surface or in river-beds; and it is curious that so many have come from the Thames. The association with beakers and buttons with V-boring is beyond dispute, and all three items may be used with caution for dating deposits of which any of them form part. Both beakers and shale buttons evidently had a longer vogue than the flint dagger, but while beakers so accompanied may be presumed to be the earliest of their kind, the V-boring may serve to link up finds apart from daggers, and so give a clue to the next phase of the Bronze Age.

The beakers have already been analysed in this light by Lord Abercromby, but special notice should be taken of the absence both of beakers and flint daggers in Ireland,² and this may be taken as evidence of their close connexion with each other. The

¹ Bateman, *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 167.

² The beaker-find at Moytirra, co. Sligo, is acknowledged to be quite exceptional (*Archaeologia*, lxii, 351).

change from long to round barrows, and the gradual introduction of metal, point to fresh blood in Britain, and quite properly mark the beginning of the Bronze Age, though a certain transition period was inevitable.

The leading paper on flint daggers was published by Dr. Sophus Müller of Copenhagen in the first volume of *Nordiske Fortidsminder i* (1902) with several photographic plates and a French summary of the Danish text. Time has confirmed and elaborated his classification in *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, and archaeologists¹ now speak of a 'dagger period' in Scandinavia. This embraces the cist period (the last neolithic stage) and at any rate the latter part of the passage-grave or chambered barrow period; and the sequence seems to be complete. The simple leaf-shaped blades are the earliest, the tang or butt becoming gradually more pronounced. The blade becomes broader, with maximum width at or above the centre, and the tang becomes a handle with square, lozenge, or triangular section, and finally a pommel. Those with a four-sided butt are more common in South Sweden than Denmark, but the flat handle with triangular section is common in Denmark and rare in South Sweden. The leaf-shaped is the most common type of all; and the handle marks a later development not reached by the British series, and no doubt contemporary with our earliest metal period.

Daggers are found not only in the north-and-south cists of Jutland and the east-and-west cists of Zealand, but also in the single (isolated) graves both of Jutland and the Danish islands. In the cists of Zealand celts and nearly all 'furniture' other than daggers and pottery² are wanting, and the early leaf-shaped dagger is seldom found, though this is the type generally found elsewhere. It is clear from stratified graves in Jutland that the dagger period came between those of the flint celt and bronze. Dr. Müller holds that the leaf-shaped or early flint dagger was imported into Scandinavia, and had no precise nationality or frontier. He quotes examples from Russia, England, France, Italy and Egypt, and thinks they passed from one country to another, not being due to independent invention in various parts of Europe. After the leaf-shaped variety, the narrow tang or handle with quadrangular section characterized the most common type in Denmark and especially in Sweden. They probably served both as daggers and knives, being carried on the person for general purposes.

Towards the end of the neolithic period there was also an

¹ Hans Kjer, *Mém. Soc. Antiq. du Nord*, 1911-12, p. 324; and C. A. Nordman, *Studier öfver Gånggriftkulturen i Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1918).

² To judge by the daggers, the cists of Jutland are earlier than those of Zealand: see Kjer, *Mém. Soc. Antiq. du Nord*, 1911-12, pp. 306, 312.

irruption from the south into the interior of Jutland, as shown by the single-graves in contrast to the megalithic tombs of the coasts and Danish islands. Dr. Sophus Müller¹ suggests that the new-comers were Aryans (whether by race or language) and that the native neolithic people were non-Aryan. Even if the earliest beakers in Britain were of æneolithic date or Copper Age, it is certain that bronze first appears in this country in connexion with this very definite form of pottery; and the anatomical difference between subjects from long and round barrows is conclusive, though the flint daggers in barrows seem to have been sometimes associated with dolichocephalic skeletons.

A curious fact illustrating the vagaries of fashion in flint must not be overlooked. In the dagger period flint-working reached high-water mark both in Britain and Denmark; but polish, usually regarded as the crowning achievement of neolithic man, had already sunk into insignificance. The large polished celts with thin butts, dating from the dolmen period, were no longer in favour, and even despised, if we may judge by the wanton re-chipping of them; and while there is a minimum of polish on the daggers, the leading celt-forms of the two last phases of the neolithic in Denmark (the square-butted celt, with narrow or expanding cutting-edge) were normally unpolished. The large megalithic celt with thin butt is said to have been introduced from England, and intercourse seems to have been interrupted after the passage-grave period,² but that cannot explain the decline of polish in Denmark, as the British daggers also show the slightest grinding on the sides of the butt-end, and that only in the minority of cases. As the latest neolithic of Scandinavia is always regarded as the finest period of flint-working, it is clear that polishing was not necessary to perfection. Indeed the most perfect Egyptian knives, dating from pre-dynastic times, were flaked all over *after* being carefully polished.

As long ago as 1900 our Hon. Fellow Professor Montelius assigned the commonest type of flint dagger (the longer one from Garton Slack) to the Copper Age, which in his opinion lasted from 2500-2000 B.C. and constituted the first phase of the Bronze Age. But in a paper embracing the whole of that period he had little room for full details, much less for their discussion, and few then realized the strength of his case. The evidence, old and new, is overwhelmingly in his favour with regard to a post-neolithic

¹ *Mém. Soc. Antiq. du Nord*, 1914-15, p. 55; for their beakers, see Nordman, *Gånggriftkulturen*, pp. 64-5, 103.

² A few isolated daggers of late type, worn down to a stump and evidently of Scandinavian origin, have been found in the eastern counties (*Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, i, 490; ii, 547).

date for the daggers, but their origin has still to be traced. As they are often associated with beakers, it might be inferred that daggers and beakers were the peculiar property of an invading people. It is agreed that the pottery was a new departure; but in view of our neolithic arrow-types it may be suggested that the invaders, in their former home (wherever that was), had been familiar with flint forms like those of Britain. It is known that Scandinavia derived certain types from this country, and the earliest daggers of Denmark certainly resemble one of the British groups. Whether directly or indirectly, this country may well have furnished the invaders with the prototype of the dagger—witness the numerous finds of neolithic lance-heads in England to serve as models (e.g. Winterbourn Stoke, in *Archaeologia*, xliii, 414, fig. 101, a-c; and *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., ii, 427). Even the side notches are found on an angular specimen 2·9 in. long, from Calais Wold, E. R. Yorks. (*Proceedings*, 2nd ser., iii, 324).

As already suggested in *Archaeologia*, lxii, 351, the neolithic natives retired before the Bronze Age invaders, and took refuge in the west, especially in Ireland, where they seem to have developed their round-bottomed pottery into the food-vessel type, returning later when the beaker-people had been amalgamated or subdued. But during their exile in the west our ancestors seem also to have evolved from the neolithic arrow-head new forms peculiar to themselves, and Irish specimens are remarkable for their size, abundance, and variety (*Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, xxxiii, plates viii-xi; and *Stone Age Guide* (Brit. Mus.), 2nd ed., pl. 10).

In illustration of the paper a flint dagger found near Marlborough was exhibited by Mr. J. W. Brooke; four in the London Museum from the Thames by Mr. G. F. Lawrence; five fragments from Wilts. by Mr. A. D. Passmore; and a complete dagger from Bottisham Lode, Cambs., by Mr. Oscar Raphael, F.S.A.

Mr. HEMP inquired whether the notches on the flint daggers corresponded to those on certain swords of the later Bronze Age.

Mr. SMITH replied that, according to the latest theory, the notches on bronze swords were to keep in place a guard of raw hide, which would shrink considerably on drying and so grip the base of the blade. The flint daggers were probably mounted like modern specimens from the north-west coast of America,¹ and Mr. Brooke's exhibit had a line across from notch to notch that seemed to be due to contact with a ligature.

The PRESIDENT said the removal of a whole class of implements from one period to another was a drastic measure, but seemed to

¹ *Stone Age Guide* (Brit. Mus.), 2nd ed., fig. 139.

be required by the evidence. When problems of that kind were presented to the Society, it was difficult to make them understood in the time allowed, as it was possible, and indeed necessary, to take so many points of view. So many technical terms were in use that a running commentary was almost essential. New ground was continually being broken, and there was still uncertainty as to fundamental principles. The isolation and dating of any group, therefore, marked an advance, and the Society was indebted to the author, as on other occasions, for his efforts in that direction.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 4th DECEMBER 1919.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows, to be held on Thursday, 15th January 1920, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

H. R. HALL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., showed slides of the recent excavations of the British Museum at Tell el-Mukayyar (Ur 'of the Chaldees'), Tell Abu Shahrein (Eridu), and Tell el-Ma'abed or Tell el-'Obeid, near Ur (fig. 1), which he carried out from February to May 1919. Mr. Hall, then Captain in the Intelligence Corps, was sent out by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the auspices of the War Office, to Mesopotamia in November 1918, in order to assist the provisional administration with archaeological advice and to continue the excavations begun in the preceding year by Capt. R. Campbell Thompson at Ur and Shahrein. On arrival in Mesopotamia he was attached to the Political Department as Captain, and until February acted as archaeological adviser to that department, in which the control of antiquities is vested. He read a paper as follows:

After carrying out certain works of conservation at Babylon and reporting on the condition of that site and of Birs Nimrûd and Nippur, I began excavation work at Ur on 14th February. Work went on continuously at Ur until the end of May. I was allotted seventy Turkish prisoners of war by the military authorities as excavators (some of whom had had previous excavating experience in Anatolia), and had with me also four Arab overseers from Babylon who were practised archaeological excavators, and a number of Indian details, as well as a Sergeant-Major of the Labour Corps as assistant. He directed the clearing operations

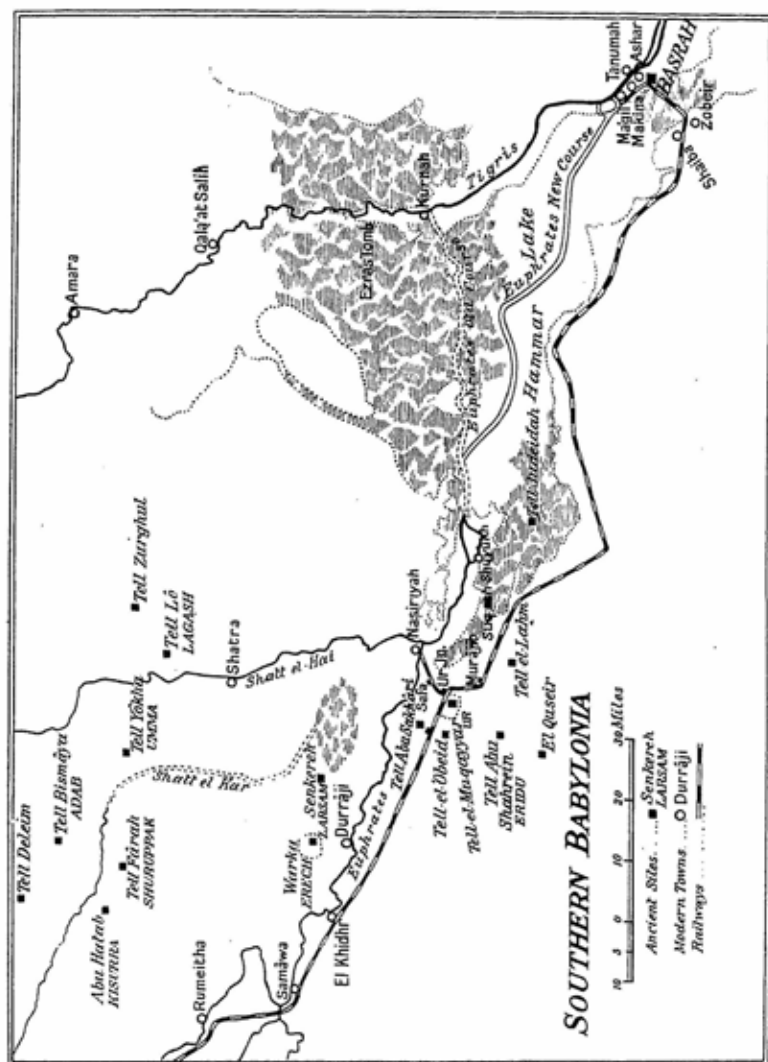


Fig. 1. SKETCH-MAP OF SOUTHERN BABYLONIA, SHOWING ANCIENT SITES.

at Ur during my absence at Shahrein and Tell el-'Obeid. Capt. Thompson had excavated for a week only at Ur, preferring

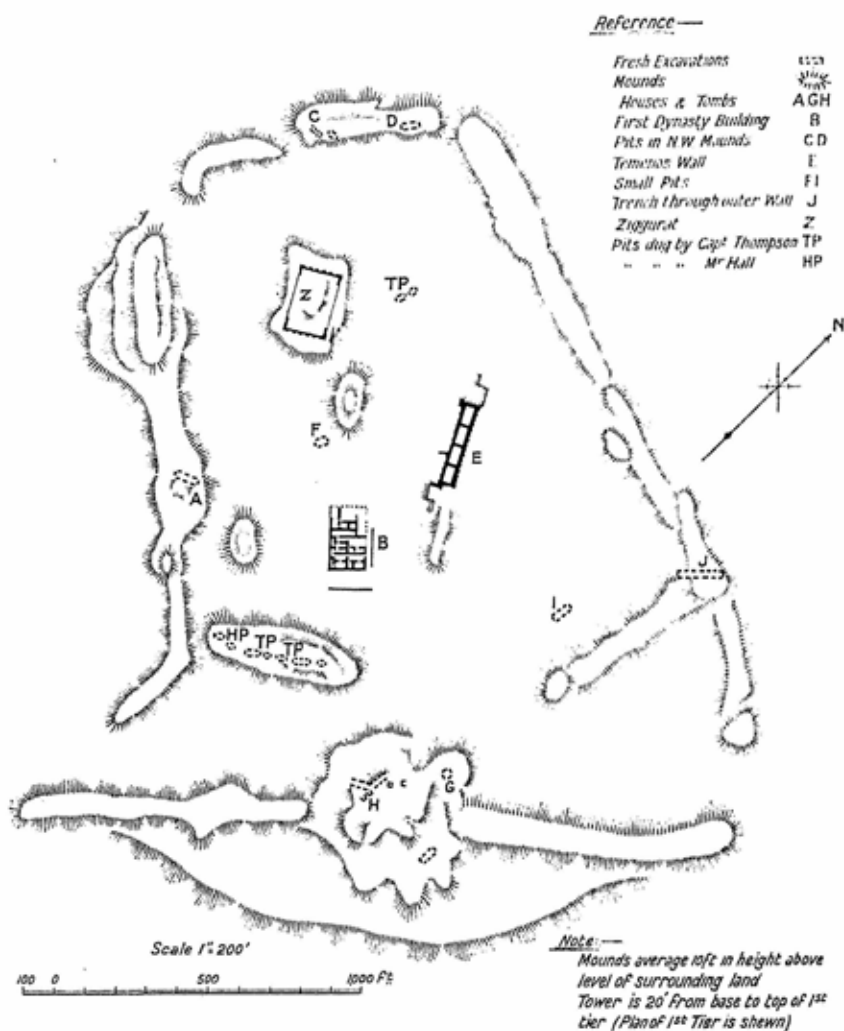


Fig. 2. SKETCH-PLAN OF TELL EL-MUKAYYAR (UR), SHOWING MOUNDS AND EXCAVATIONS.

Shahrein as the scene of his operations. The net result of my work at Ur (fig. 2) was the clearance of the south-east face of the temple-tower, or *ziggurat*, to its base (figs. 2 (Z), 3, 26), the

discovery and excavation of Ê-harsag(?) 'the House of the Mountain,' (figs. 2 (B) and 4), a palace of the kings Ur-Engur and Dungi, of the 'First' Dynasty of Ur (c. 2400 B.C.), the excavation of a portion of the temenos-wall of the temple of Nannar (figs. 2 (E) and 5), with its casemates or cellars in the thickness of the wall, and the unearthing of a number of streets and tombs (figs. 2 (H) and 6) in the later Babylonian city of Ur (8th to 5th centuries B.C.).

In the course of the work several interesting cuneiform tablets of the Dynasty of Ur and of the seventh century B.C. were found, and also fragments of portrait statues in dolerite (fig. 7), probably smashed at the time of the destruction of Ur by the Elamites, about 2350 B.C. Traces of the fire that accompanied this destruction were everywhere observed in Ê-harsag(?), a building about 110 ft. square, built of kiln-burnt brick (figs. 8, 9). On the ruins of this palace later priestly families had built houses which contained domestic antiquities of the late period, circular bread-ovens, wash-places, etc.

The graves yielded round burial pots (fig. 10) and bath-shaped pottery coffins (*larnakes*) (fig. 11) with grave-furniture of the usual late type. The *larnakes* are sometimes found inverted over the burial (fig. 12). The bodies were always found in the contracted position, with scanty tomb-furniture in the shape of pots (sometimes found outside the coffin; fig. 12), bowls containing bones of birds and sheep as food, beads of agate and cornelian, silver pins, bronze rings, etc. Many of the *larnakes* were found in house-ruins of more ancient date, into which they had been intruded, the walls being often broken down in order to make room for them. They were no doubt buried beneath the later houses of this period. The bones fell almost immediately to powder. Children's bones were found in bowls. Pot-burials, which are probably earlier than the others, were found in two pots placed mouth to mouth. The pots are perforated to let out the gases of putrefaction.

In April I shifted my camp to Abu Shaḥrein, which lies fourteen miles south-west of Ur, out in the desert. I took with me a dozen of the best Turks, and my Arab *reïses*, leaving Sergt.-Major Stanley Webb in charge of the rest of the Turks at Ur. At Shaḥrein thirty Beduin diggers were taken on to help, by arrangement with their Sheikh Lezzâm, chief of a sept of the nomad Dhiffiyya. Most of these Bedu' had worked with Captain Thompson at Shaḥrein the year before, and were well used to archaeological methods. My first intention at Shaḥrein was to continue Captain Thompson's search for pre-historic antiquities, and secondarily to excavate a portion of the ancient Eridu in the short time (a fortnight only) at my disposal. In both endeavours

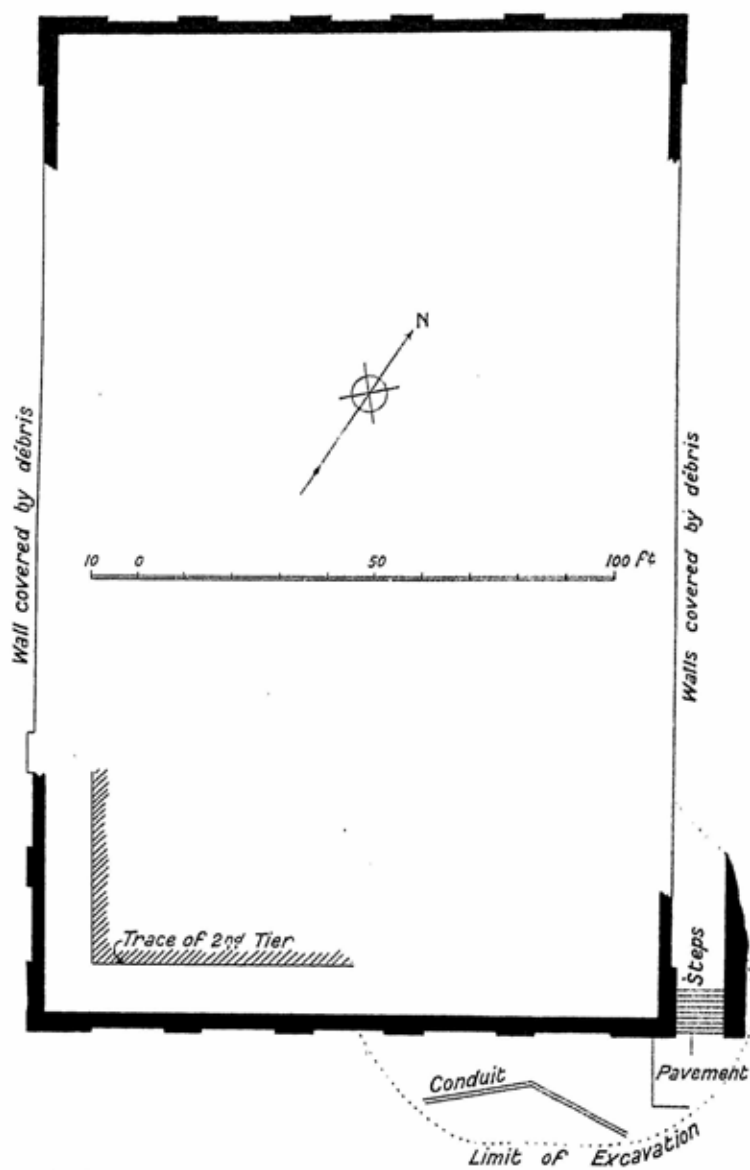


Fig. 3. SKETCH-PLAN OF THE ZIGGURAT OF UR, SHOWING EXCAVATIONS.

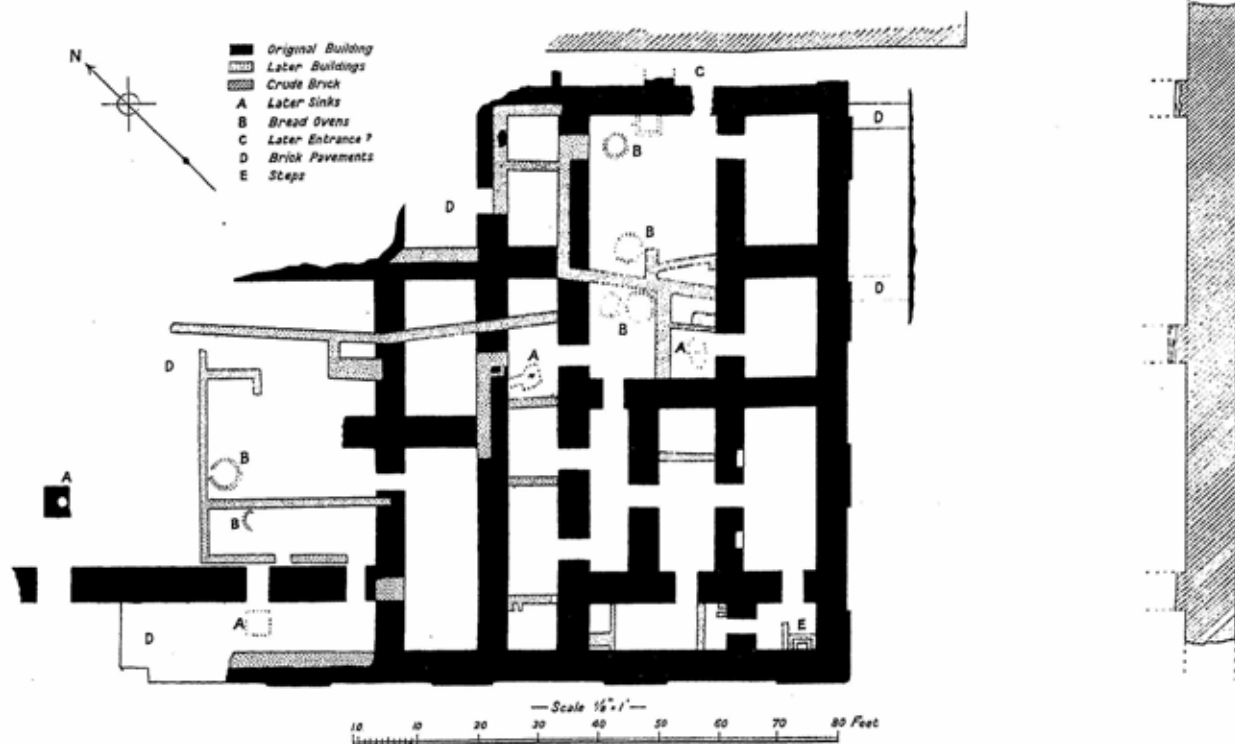


Fig. 4. PLAN OF E-HARSAG (?), THE PALACE OF UR-ENGUR AND DUNGI, AS EXCAVATED IN 1919.

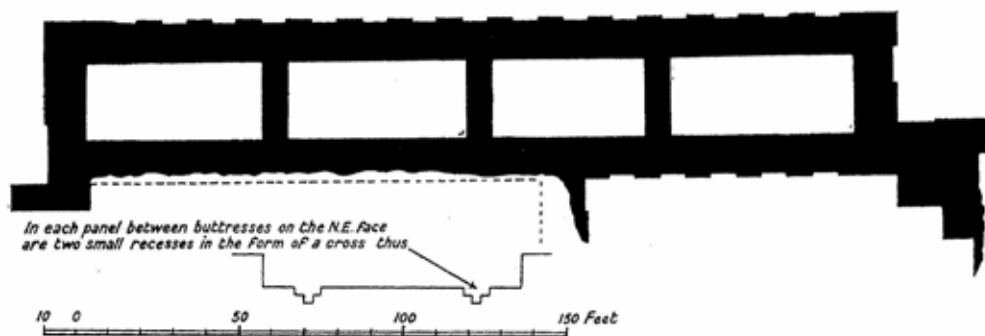


Fig. 5. PORTION OF THE TEMENOS-WALL OF THE TEMPLE OF NANNAR AT UR,
SHOWING CASEMATES OR CELLARS.



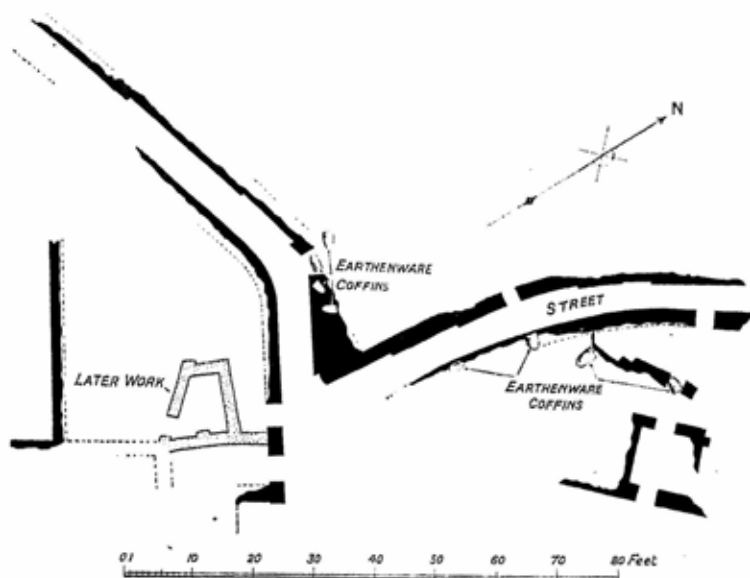


Fig. 6. STREETS AND HOUSE-BURIALS AT UR, AS EXCAVATED IN 1919.



Fig. 7. FRAGMENT OF A PORTRAIT-HEAD IN DOLERITE: HALF LIFE-SIZE.
ABOUT 2500 B.C. UR.

I was very successful, having made a rich addition to Captain Thompson's collection of stone implements, decorated ware, pottery, sickles, etc., of the chalcolithic period (figs. 13, 14), and having also excavated and planned a series of early Sumerian houses, built of crude brick covered with thick, hard stucco, often decorated with horizontal lines of red and white paint about 8 in. wide (figs. 15, 16). Practically nothing was found in the houses.



Fig. 8. THE EXCAVATION OF Ê-HARSAG (?), EAST CORNER, ZIGGURAT IN BACKGROUND.

One of the stone bastions of the city, built of rough boulders of limestone, some 2 ft. long (fig. 17) was also excavated. The use of stone in Babylonia is very rare. There are some great masses of unmarked stone, dolerite, granite, limestone, and basalt, lying on the top of the mound (marked with the bench-mark 30 ft.) in which the houses were found. The basalt blocks are fragments of natural volcanic prism-columns like those of the Giant's Causeway. Where they came from is not known. They were evidently to be used in building or statue-making. The difficulty of excavating at Shahrain is great owing to the absence of water,

which had to be brought in cars a distance of fifteen miles from the tanks at the railway junction near Ur.

From Shahrein I sent my Arab *reis* 'Amrân to investigate the ruins called el-Quseir, 'the castles', several miles further out into the desert. From his photograph it is evident that they are of Roman date, probably a desert fort of the Sassanian period (fig. 18).

At the beginning of May I removed my camp ten miles north-



Fig. 9. THE EXCAVATION OF Ê-HARSAG (?), SOUTH-EAST WALL.

ward, by car and camel, to the site Tell el-Ma'abed or Tell el-'Obeid, which I had found while examining the desert in the early part of April. This site lies four miles due west of Ur, and is a low tell, only about 30 ft. high and 150 ft. long (fig. 19). My attention was attracted to it by the occurrence on the desert surface round it of prehistoric antiquities—flints, obsidian knives, decorated pottery, sickles, etc.—of exactly the same type as those found by Captain Thompson and by myself at Shahrein. Before going to Shahrein I had conducted a small excavation at 'Obeid from Ur, sending out a few Turks by car every day and visiting the site by car myself twice a day, but during my stay at

Shahrein this work had to be suspended. In May, however, with the Arab *reises* and sixteen Turks, I settled down at the tell, having about a dozen more Turks sent over by car every day from Ur. The outer wall of a small ziggurat-like building of the pre-Sargonic period (fig. 20), built of very small, baked, plano-convex bricks, had been traced, and a staircase of limestone blocks found, in April. Now the work was



Fig. 10. BURLIALS IN ROUND POTS. UR.

resumed of disinterring an extremely interesting cache of copper and other objects of pre-Sargonic age, found at the north end of the building also in April. These objects were the most important and interesting found by the expedition. They were discovered beneath a platform of unburnt bricks, apparently built by a king of the later dynasty of Ur (probably Dungi, who built at this place) on the razed ruin of the pre-Sargonic building and athwart its north-east face. This king apparently threw down the copper monuments of his predecessors who built the pre-Sargonic building in the time of the earlier kings of Lagash, stamped them down into the mud, and laid his bricks on top of them as a foundation.

Some of these objects possibly form part of a throne of Oriental type, supported on the backs of copper (not bronze) lions. A mass of twisted and contorted copper was found—pipes, pillars, bars, etc., lying over the remains of four copper foreparts and heads of lions, one smaller lion-head, two panther-heads, three bulls, some birds' heads, and other things. The first four lions, life-size, were found nearly side by side. They were never complete,

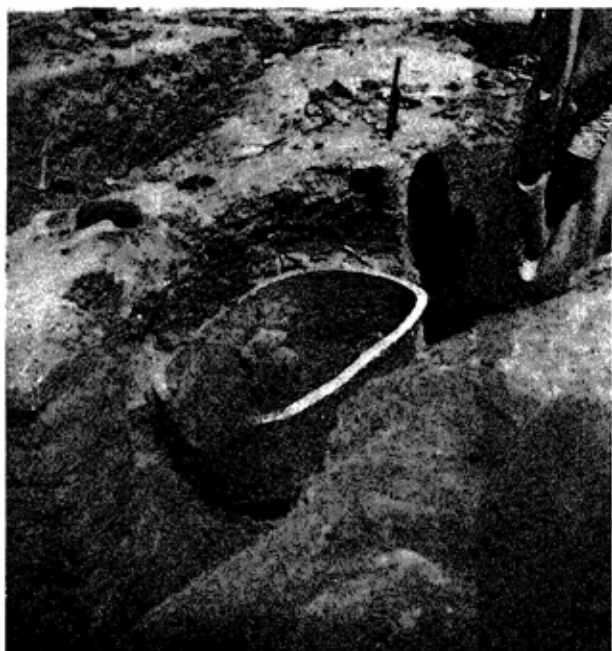


Fig. 11. LARNAX-BURIAL. UR.

nothing of a body having ever existed save a rough forepart with very rudely-formed legs. There were no hinder parts. The heads are remarkable. Whereas the bodies were apparently formed of hammered copper plates fastened together with nails over a wooden block (now almost entirely disintegrated and replaced by infiltrated clay), the heads were cast (according to the opinion of practical metal-workers) and the place of the clay taken by bitumen, in order to strengthen the heads. This bitumen is mixed with clay and straw. It has not adhered to the copper,¹

¹ Several analyses by Dr. Alexander Scott, F.R.S., have shown that the metal is copper, not bronze.

and we now have the bitumen cast of each head with the fragments of its copper mask. In each bitumen head there is a rectangular space, now filled with clay, which is presumably intended for the insertion of a wooden block fastening it to the body. The view that the bitumen was original and that the copper mask was hammered over it, has its defenders, and one must leave it to the metal-workers to decide which came first,



Fig. 12. BURIAL IN INVERTED LARNAX, WITH POTTERY PLACED OUTSIDE. UR.

the bitumen or the copper. If the heads were cast, they are remarkable achievements for the time (before 3000 B.C.) to which they belong. They had tongues of red jasper, teeth of shell, and eyes of blue schist, shell, and red jasper (fig. 21).

Besides the four large lion heads, a smaller one of the same kind (but without any body) was found, and two panther-heads without inlaid eyes or teeth (fig. 22). Of these heads the last three and one of the large lion-heads travelled safely to England, the latter having been shaken on the journey into three pieces which, however, were joined at once without difficulty.



Fig. 13. IMPLEMENTS OF FLINT, CHERT, SLATE, OBSIDIAN, AND ROCK-CRYSTAL. Abu Shahrein, 1919. In the centre are a primitive human figure of pottery, and half of a perforated plaque of smoky quartz, with incised figure of a lion passant. Scale one-third.

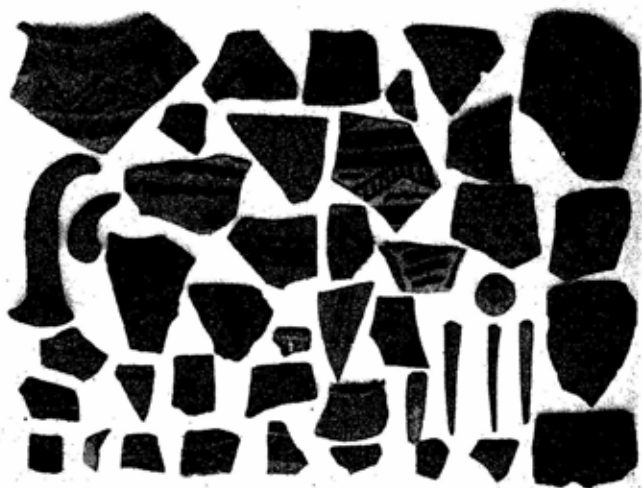


Fig. 14. FRAGMENTS OF EARLY PAINTED POTTERY, CONES, ETC. Abu Shahrein, 1919. Scale one-third.

Of the other three lion heads, one collapsed soon after discovery, and the other two suffered badly on the journey to England, but are being reconstituted with success. Of the two bulls already mentioned (which are about the size of greyhounds),

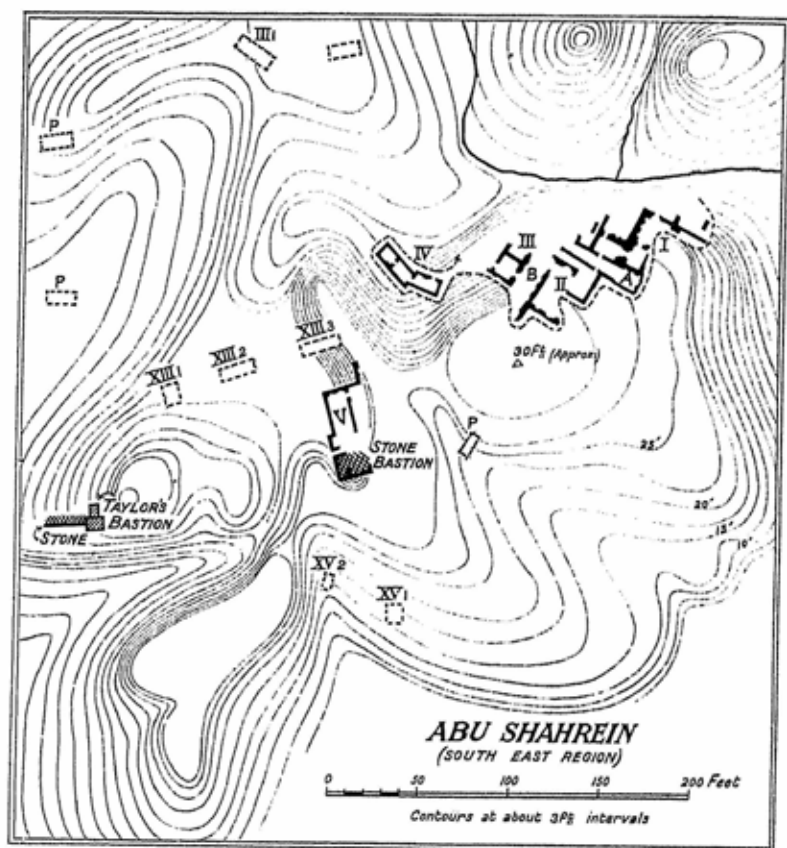


Fig. 15. SKETCH-PLAN OF THE SOUTH-EAST REGION OF ABU SHAHREIN, showing Captain Thompson's pits and Sumerian houses and stone bastion, excavated by Mr. Hall in 1919. (Crude brick solid black; baked brick shaded; stonework cross-hatched.)

one fell to dust immediately after being photographed, another came to pieces on the way home, but can be put together without difficulty, while the body of the third and largest was already smashed to fragments (anciently) when found, though its head is in good preservation. While the birds' heads are very rough, the heads of these (fig. 23) bulls are admirable specimens of



Fig. 16. SUMERIAN HOUSE AT ABU SHAHREIN, EXCAVATED 1919.
In the foreground is a stone architectural fragment.



Fig. 17. ONE OF THE STONE BASTIONS OF ERIDU (ABU SHAHREIN),
EXCAVATED 1919.

Sumerian art, as also are those of the stags in the great copper relief, of which it now remains to speak.

This was the greatest find of all. It was discovered with the rest, but nearer the pre-Sargonic wall, standing upright on its base. It



Fig. 18. SASSANIAN (?) FORT, EL-QUSEIR.

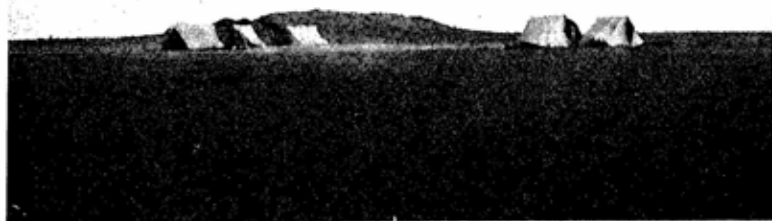


Fig. 19. THE MOUND AND CAMP: TELL EL-'OBEID.

measures 8 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 in. high (2.44 m. by 1.07 m.), and represents the lion-headed eagle *Imgig*, the heraldic cognizance and tutelary genius of Lagash, holding two stags by their tails. This is a well-known group in early Sumerian art, and a good example of it may be seen on the silver vase of Entemena, in the Louvre (for illustrations see King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 167, and opposite p. 168: fig. 51 exactly represents our relief on

a small scale). Imgig sometimes holds lions, sometimes ibexes, sometimes stags, in his talons. He signifies the dominion of Lagash over the place where he is found, and his occurrence at Tell el-'Obeid shows that when these copper objects were made Ur lay within the territory of Lagash. This representation of

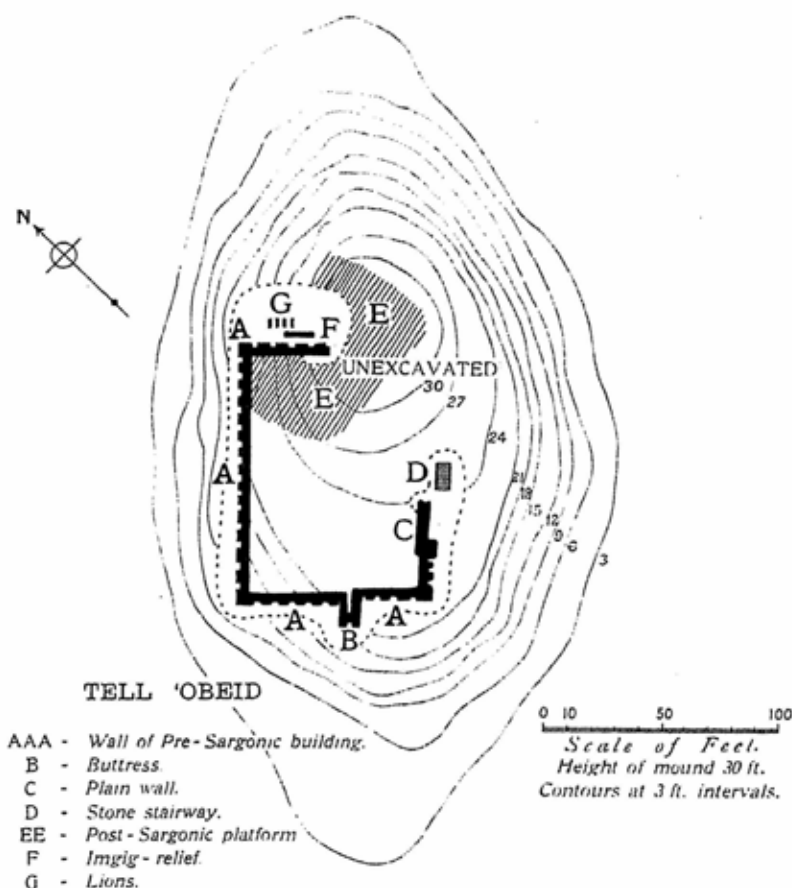


Fig. 20. SKETCH-PLAN OF THE MOUND AND BUILDING AT TELL EL-'OBEID.

the tutelary animal is of course much larger than any previously known, and as a work of art is itself unique. The work of excavating and packing it was of great difficulty, owing to its bad condition. All these copper figures, except the head of one of the bulls, are completely oxidized, so that hardly any metal remains, and were so delicate when found as to fall to pieces at

the touch when they were not already fragmentary. The relief, which had suffered badly from the effects of time when found, has borne the journey to England better than might have been ex-

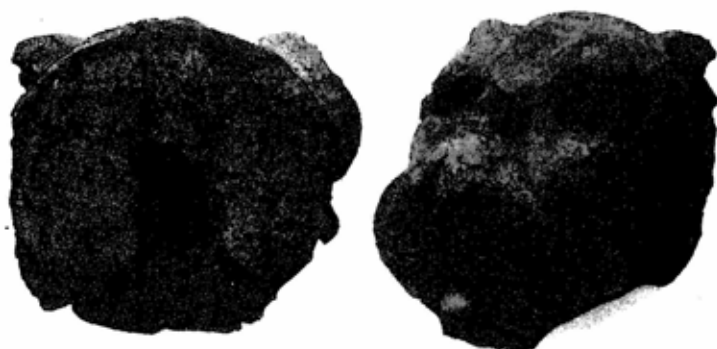


Fig. 21. LARGE (LIFE-SIZE) LION-HEAD: BITUMEN CORE. Showing hole for wooden peg joining the head to the forepart of the body. Before 3000 B. C. Tell el-'Obeid.



Fig. 22. PANTHER-HEAD: BITUMEN CORE AND COPPER MASK. Before 3000 B. C. Tell el-'Obeid.

pected, but the figure of Imgig himself is now so fragmentary that it can only be discerned with the eye of faith, and the whole relief will take a long time and careful study before it can be reconstituted and restored. A beginning has been made on the head of

one of the stags, which is practically in the round, the body being in high relief. The antlers, which are of wrought copper and entirely free from the relief, were fixed in the cast copper head with lead, which, when it oxidized, swelled, and burst the head; this has now been put together (fig. 24). The outer antler was broken off anciently. It must originally have projected outside the copper frame of the relief, an unusual feature in ancient art.

Besides these objects were found also a small bull's horn of thin gold, filled with bitumen, a tufa portrait-figure of a squat-



Fig. 23. COPPER BULL'S HEAD AND HEADS OF BIRDS (sacred to the goddess Bau, wife of Ningirsu, the god of Lagash). One of the latter is of stone. Before 3000 B. C. Tell el-'Obeid.

ting man of the Ur-Ninâ type, and the torso of a similar portrait-figure of limestone, inscribed in archaic characters for Kur-Lil doorkeeper of the temple of Erech, who set up his statue in the temple of Damkina (?). This goddess was the spouse of Enki, the fish-god of Eridu (Shahrein), and el-'Obeid was apparently her temple. All were discovered together, and are of the same period.

An interesting find was that of mud pillars covered with geometrical patterns of mosaic (fig. 25); the tesserae, either square or triangular, being made of fine red sandstone, bituminous limestone, and mother-of-pearl. Also a number of clay rosettes were found, with petals of red, white, and black stone fastened

by means of copper wire, and with long conical shanks for insertion into walls.

How these objects were originally set up it is impossible to say, as they were all found in tumbled confusion, heaped on top of each other, and most of them smashed anciently.

All are now being studied and reconstituted, so far as is possible, at the British Museum, but it will need years of labour before this work can be completed. They form a notable addition to our knowledge of early Sumerian art, and are perhaps the most interesting discoveries of the kind that have been made since the



Fig. 24. STAG'S HEAD FROM THE COPPER INGIG-RELIEF.
Before 3000 B. C. Tell el-'Obeid.

finding of the treasures of the Louvre from Lagash by de Sarzec.

While I was working at 'Obeid Sergeant-Major Webb supervised the clearance of the ziggurat-face at Ur (fig. 26).

I wish to record here the names of my immediate helpers and companions, to all of whom I am indebted for unwearying work and ungrudging assistance:—Sergeant-Major Stanley Webb, for his intelligent and efficient assistance at Ur; 'Amrân ibn-Hamûd, the Arab head *reîs* from Babylon, whose archaeological knowledge and flair for Mesopotamian antiquities is considerable; the chief Turkish N.C.O.'s, Sergeants-Major Daûd Ramazân and Hâşan Effendi (the former a Moslem Serb from near Prisren, and the latter a Macedonian from Monastir), of whose



Fig. 25. MOSAIC PILLAR. Before 3000 B. C. Tell el-'Obeid.
(The hoe at the side gives the size.)



Fig. 26. THE SOUTH-EAST FACE OF THE ZIGGURAT AT UR, MAY 1919,
AFTER PARTIAL CLEARANCE TO BASE.

honesty and obedience I cannot speak too highly; and my two energetic and capable motor-drivers, Sepoys 'Abdul Ghani (a Moslem of Bhimber in Kashmir State), and Jagan Nath (a Hindu from Peshawur: 'Juggernaut' is a good name for a chauffeur!). Without 'Amrân and 'Abdul Ghani as our ministers the Sergeant-Major and I would have found our work much heavier than it was. I may mention that six languages were in general use on the excavation: English, Arabic, Hindustani, Turkish, French, and Greek! To Lieut. O. D. O'Sullivan, R.E., I owe the plans which are the basis of those here published. He was kindly lent to me by the Commander-in-chief for this work.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the military and civil authorities in Mesopotamia, especially Major-General Sir G. J. MacMunn, then Commander-in-chief, Brigadier-General H. C. Sutton, then Commanding Lines of Communication, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, then Chief Civil Commissioner, Major Dickson, Political Officer at Nasiriyeh, Captain P. C. Orgill, Assistant Political Officer, and Major Glanville and Captain H. C. Mould of the Railways, for the ever-ready help which they gave the expedition, without which these important results could not have been attained.

My thanks are also due to Sir Frederic Kenyon, the Director of the British Museum, for having sent me out and so enabled me to gain my first experience of digging in Mesopotamia.

SIR FREDERIC KENYON was glad of the opportunity of congratulating Mr. Hall on the last season's work, and announced that the Principal Trustees of the British Museum had that day made him an Assistant Keeper. The Society would be the first to publish a new class of antiquities from a new site of early Sumerian civilization, but time was required to work out their relation to Mesopotamian culture in general. The British Museum aimed at going beyond palaces to the origins of civilization, whether they were to be found in Mesopotamia, Egypt, or Persia, near the mouths of the great rivers, or higher up round Carchemish. As a result of the War the country had become responsible for certain portions of the Turkish empire, and the Society could do much to form public opinion on the subject, with a view to suitable and immediate action. National responsibilities must not be shirked, and nothing but a leading rôle should satisfy British archaeologists. The example set by Napoleon in Egypt was one to follow, and there could be no more splendid opportunity than the present.

SIR ARTHUR EVANS said his own explorations were in a distant

field, but he could testify to the enormous importance of Mr. Hall's discoveries. There was a distant echo in the Mediterranean of the civilization they revealed, and in the time of Hammurabi cylinders began to be imported into Crete. The composite lions' heads had a counterpart in the Palace sanctuary at Knossos; and the debt of Europe to that culture was at last recognized. Its focus might be found on the Persian side or further afield towards Turkestan.

Mr. CAMPBELL THOMPSON acknowledged Mr. Hall's generous treatment of his own work in that field, and looked forward to the day when the discoveries described to the meeting would become a parable in Babylon.

Professor GARSTANG was most attracted by the pottery, and hoped that archaeologists would not lose sight of such evidence. He had been shown exactly similar specimens by de Morgan, dating from late neolithic times; and there were parallels in Turkestan and northern Syria. The ware could perhaps be traced across Asia Minor to central Europe and the steppes of western Russia.

Mr. HOGARTH felt that the civilization just revealed was still a long way from the beginning. Such pottery was not found in Greece, and he inquired whether it had been found in datable surroundings anywhere in Babylonia. He hoped that one of the great sites would next be dug exhaustively, and evidence obtained of the date when civilization began in those parts.

The Rev. C. SWYNNERTON referred to the mosaics on bitumen. In the Swat valley, Afghanistan, were found numbers of beautiful little heads like plaster, belonging to statuettes which were rendered more solid by having liquid clay poured into the casting.

Mr. HALL replied that the pottery was pre-Sumerian and contemporary with the flints, which authorities assigned to the chalcolithic period, when metal was coming into use. At Ur specimens of it had been found underneath a very early Babylonian building of crude brick. At Abu Shahrein Mr. Thompson had dug pits in which he found this pottery with flints at the bottom. The ware apparently dated before the first historical dynasties about 3500 B.C., and preceded the Sumerian ware found with the objects of copper. It was found all over that region, at Carchemish in the neolithic stratum, in Turkestan, and in South Russia; and, like Messrs. Wace and

Thompson's pottery from Thessaly, was different from the wares of Egypt, Palestine, and the Aegean both in style and decoration.

The PRESIDENT said the meeting was much indebted to Mr. Hall for a vivid account of his explorations. Such missions as his occasionally fell to members of the Museum staff, and full advantage had been taken of present opportunities. The Peace Conference, of which the scheme was a direct outcome, had laid responsibilities on Britain that in the past had been disregarded by the Government, but a new policy had been inaugurated. Archaeological investigation had often been sacrificed in the interests of trade and politics. Other countries were eagerly waiting to take advantage of any mistakes or carelessness in supervising sites and monuments placed under British control; and the authorities must be impressed with the necessity of taking such matters in charge and finding the necessary funds for adequate exploration.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

Thursday, 11th December 1919.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 15th January 1920, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

G. F. HILL, Esq., M.A., F.B.A., exhibited and presented a cast of a medal presented in 1775 to Domenico Augusto Bracci, Hon. F.S.A.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited and presented three papal and six Spanish leaden bullae.

The papal bullae were of Clement II, 1046-7, Sixtus IV, 1471-84, and Gregory XIII, 1572-85. Of these, that of Clement was a forgery, as according to Mr. Bishop (*Proceedings*, xi, p. 260), the type with the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul was

not introduced until 1099 in the time of Pascal II. There was a bull of Clement II in the British Museum [B. M. Catalogue of Seals 21, 687], which Mr. Bishop had pronounced to be a forgery of the late twelfth century. The specimen exhibited was probably manufactured at about the same date. The other bullae were of the ordinary design, but that of Gregory XIII was of the less archaic type introduced during the Renaissance.

The Spanish bullae consisted of two, identical, of Pedro I, King of Castile and Leon, 1350-68, of two of John I, King of Castile and Leon, 1379-90, one before his marriage with Beatrix of Portugal in 1386, the other after his marriage. On this latter the arms of Castile and Leon impaled Portugal. The other two were of Juana II, the Mad, the mother of the Emperor Charles V. As she was represented as a widow the seal must date after the death of her husband in 1506. The last specimen was much worn, but was of one of the Philips, probably Philip II (1556-98).

O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read the following note on an Anglo-Saxon ivory carving.

The small triangular panel of morse ivory illustrated in fig. 1 was found at some time not precisely known in the garden of a house near St. Cross, and has recently passed, with a collection of various objects, into the Winchester Museum.¹ The subject consists of two angels back to back, soaring in the air with uplifted hands and faces turned skyward. The ends of their mantles, blown to right and left, fill the void spaces in the upper angles; the lower angle is filled by a conventional foliation.

Two things are at once apparent: the quality of the work, at once delicate and full of life, which admirably suggests the soaring of the figures; and the general likeness, in conception and execution, to the miniatures of the Winchester school of illumination. There is an evident relationship between these angels and others represented in well-known manuscripts of the school, especially King Edgar's Foundation Charter of New Minster, dated A. D. 966, and the Grimbald Gospels of the early eleventh century in the British Museum. Less close are analogies to the two adoring angels carved over the sanctuary arch in the church of Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire,² where we remark a treatment of the feet

¹ The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Reginald Hooley, Honorary Curator of the Winchester Museum, for allowing a cast to be made. The length of the panel is 3 inches, the breadth at the wider end $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The carving is in high relief, undercut in places; the raised border of one side is broken, and a hole has been bored between the two figures.

² Prior and Gardner, *Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England*, fig. 114, p. 135.

issuing from the floating draperies somewhat similar to that of the miniatures and the ivory, which in this detail are closely allied.

The Winchester school attained its highest level in the last thirty years of the tenth century, and the first quarter of the eleventh, after which time it rapidly declined. The vitality and grace of the figures in this small carving are so remarkable that



Fig. 1. CARVED IVORY PANEL FROM ST. CROSS IN THE WINCHESTER MUSEUM. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

they may be assigned to the best period; such work can hardly be dated later than A.D. 1000. And the Winchester hall-mark is so plainly upon it that there need be no suggestion of any place of origin other than the neighbourhood in which it was found. No other ivory ascribed to Anglo-Saxon carvers carries clearer credentials than this. Whatever foreign influences¹ may have affected the early development of illumination at Winchester, in its maturer period it is marked by such individuality that it may fairly be claimed as national, and this ivory, so nearly allied to it at its best, may be described as characteristically English.

It is not easy to guess the purpose which this small triangular

¹ For these see J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, ch. vi, and Sir George Warner, *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold* (Roxburghe Club, 1910), Introduction.

panel was intended to serve. The subject being what it is, the base of the triangle must necessarily be placed uppermost, which seems to rule out most of the obvious suggestions. The angels are clearly looking up to some figure above them, probably that of our Lord in a glory; and it is hard to imagine the kind of object which would comprise a panel with that subject above, and a triangular panel, like this, below. Even were it known that the Anglo-Saxons made ivory caskets with gabled lids, this panel could not have formed part of one, because any attachment with the apex uppermost would leave the figures with their heads downwards. A similar reason would seem to prevent its application to a flat cross with expanding ends; for it could only ornament the upper limb, and we should have to suppose the figure of our Lord independent of the cross altogether. But we know all too little as to the use of ivory panels in Anglo-Saxon times, and with the comparative material at present available this small problem presents difficulties out of proportion, perhaps, to its intrinsic importance.

The PRESIDENT thought the exhibit was essentially English work, the Winchester school having amazing vitality and ornamental quality. It derived its charm from the classical feeling of the period. The discovery seemed to be well authenticated, unlike that of two pieces of metal-work that he had been told were found under the cathedral tower—both having clearly been made in Benares during the nineteenth century.

O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read the following communication on a detail from the mosaic pavement at Umm Jerar.

This detail from a tessellated floor of about the middle of the sixth century is of more interest than might at first appear, presenting as it does an iconographic type, so far as I know, new at so early a date (fig. 1). The pavement was discovered not far south of Gaza during the British advance in 1917, in the ruins of a small church or chapel at a spot called Umm Jerar¹; the place was not far from the crossing of the Wādi Shellal, the site of another pavement with an inscription, unearthed rather earlier.² It may be noted that Palestine is very rich in tessellated pavements, and that the occurrence of two good examples a few miles from each other need cause no surprise, more especially as both were near to the frequented road to Egypt. The Shellal mosaic was beside a ford (over the wādi),

¹ F. M. Drake in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, July 1918, p. 122; *Burlington Magazine*, January 1919, p. 3 (vol. xxxiv).

² M. Briggs in *Burlington Magazine*, May 1918, p. 185 (vol. xxxii).

and the building which it decorated was probably a wayside memorial chapel. The small church at Umm Jerar may have belonged to the same category.

The illustration, from a pencil drawing made by Capt. Drake on the spot, enlarges the detail as shown in the same officer's drawing of the whole floor. It fills one rectangle in a border of similar squares, each with its separate subject, surrounding a large oblong tessellated panel in front of the apse. The subject at first suggests a representation of a dove, nested in a chalice. But a little reflection shows this to be impossible. The type is not that of the dove; and although the sticks upon which the bird rests do represent a nest, the object by which it is supported has



Fig. 1. THE PHOENIX ON THE FIRE-ALTAR : DETAIL FROM THE MOSAIC OF UMM JERAR.

only a superficial likeness to a chalice. Another interpretation has therefore to be sought.

Among the symbolic birds of Early Christian art there is one which answers to the type before us, with its slender neck, swan-like head, and radiate nimbus: this bird is the phoenix, the symbol, in pagan times, of revival and eternity; in Christian times, of the Resurrection and of Christ.¹

The story of the phoenix is told in different ways by numerous writers, religious and profane, from Herodotus downwards. The phoenix is the sacred bird of the sun, whose eastern home is

¹ For the phoenix in history and art, see W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, iii, sect. ii, column 3450, s.v. *Phoinix*. See also E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, chapter i, in O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, new series, vol. iii, 1899.

sometimes given as Arabia, sometimes India, sometimes Assyria or Ethiopia, while Egypt has a phoenix of her own.¹ But the apparent diversity of origin has little importance, since ancient geographers applied all these names, except that of Egypt, to one part or another of a wide region spreading on all sides from the Persian Gulf. The main features of the phoenix-legend are familiar. The life of the sacred bird is generally extended to five hundred years, and his death is differently described by the various authors. The greater number, and those the earliest, follow Herodotus, in saying that he expires fragrantly in his nest, and that his remains are carried by his successor to Heliopolis, where the priest of the sun buries them; they are usually carried in an egg-shaped lump of myrrh, though sometimes the whole nest, with the remains, is bodily transported (Clement of Rome, Ovid). But the later Christian writer, Epiphanius, who lived in the fourth century, introduces a new feature: he says that the phoenix, feeling death near, makes a nest of aromatic twigs, and carries it himself to Heliopolis; there he tears open his breast, and, obtaining fire from the blood, burns himself in the nest as on a pyre. This, and not the story as known to the earlier writers, is the version with which we are concerned; and the appearance of cremation is, as we shall see, a significant fact. We may note in passing the possible allusion to the phoenix in the Book of Job², where the nest is specially mentioned. The Vulgate has: *In nidulo meo moriar, et sicut palma multiplicabo dies*. The translator has here rendered the Greek *φοῖνιξ* by *palma*; but Tertullian preferred the alternative meaning of the word, and translated *phoenix*, showing that the sun-bird had been adopted into Christian symbolism, at any rate as early as the second century.

In pagan art³ the phoenix chiefly appears on sepulchral monuments of the Imperial period, and on coins ranging from a type struck in memory of Trajan to those of the time of Constantine and Valentinian II. On these coins the phoenix, with radiate nimbus, is usually represented on a very small scale standing upon an orb held in the hand by a standing figure; he is associated with the ideas of Eternity, Felicity, or Rejuvenation. In the Christian period, though not as popular as the dove or peacock, he appears with sufficient frequency to enable us to distinguish his rather variable type. There is, nevertheless, sometimes a difficulty in identification, which is not astonishing when we remember the contradictions in the literary descriptions of the bird,—Herodotus and Pliny likening it to the eagle, Achilles Tatius to the peacock, while Lactantius sees in it features both

¹ The *Bennu*.² Ch. xxix. 18.³ Roscher, as above, col. 3466.

of cock and pheasant: the two last-mentioned writers help us, however, by insisting on the radiate nimbus. In Early Christian art the phoenix is represented with this nimbus, seated upon the palm-trees which in certain scenes stand for the trees of Paradise, and are doubly appropriate through the fact, above noted, that in Greek the tree and the bird share a common name. The phoenix is thus seen upon Roman sarcophagi, on a gilded glass from the Catacombs, and in various mosaics of the early Roman churches. But in one instance the symbolism varies: a sarcophagus-fragment in the Lateran shows him perched upon a draped tau-cross, with a dove on either side, receiving adoration from a figure of apostolic type: here he clearly typifies our Lord. The Umm Jerar phoenix bears comparison with these early representations very well, especially in the character of the head and neck. But as a symbolic figure he belongs to another stage of development. The types upon the sarcophagi and mosaics belong to the simpler, more direct symbolism, characterizing the first phase of Christian art, and conveying a single idea, such as Resurrection; they play no part in a story or tale. Our bird, with his accessories, belongs to a narrative, which the spectator must know beforehand, supplying the greater part from memory. The artist of the mosaic pavement presupposes such knowledge; he assumes that a mere extract from a fuller illustration will suggest the whole story: we have entered the region of what has been called the mystical zoology of the bestiaries, a different world from that of the doves, lambs, peacocks, and other early symbolic types.

To understand the kind of full illustration for which our detail has to do duty, we are obliged, for a reason explained below, to make use of a miniature in an illuminated manuscript between four and five hundred years later in date. It belongs to a *Physiologus* or Greek bestiary at Smyrna dating from about A.D. 1100¹; the subject is the death of the phoenix in the temple of Heliopolis. The scene is laid in the court of the temple, which is represented in Hellenistic style; the usual pagan statues on columns are half rubbed out by pious fingers. The centre of the picture is occupied by the phoenix burning in his nest-pyre, while the personified sun, author of his life, looks down from the sky. The altar here takes the form of a classical column, as is common in Byzantine manuscripts, where a classical treatment is traditional in representing heathen temples. The bird stalking forward on the left is not a subsidiary figure, but the phoenix himself, repeated by the primitive method of continuous narration, in which the actor in a scene is represented at more than one stage

¹ J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, in *Byzantinisches Archiv*, Heft 2, 1899, pl. iv.

of the action within the compass of a single picture; in this figure, therefore, we must recognize the phoenix advancing to take his place upon the pyre. The person on the right, pointing to the phoenix, and holding a book in his left hand, is the priest of the temple. The meaning of this volume is explained by Achilles Tatius. It is not a book of ritual or prayers, but a manual containing all the 'points', so to speak, of the phoenix as entered by the long-dead priests who witnessed his previous visits. For, the life of the miraculous bird lasting five hundred years, no human being who had seen him before could possibly be alive to certify a new incarnation; a well-illustrated manual was a necessary safeguard against error. The text accompanying the miniature is as follows: 'The phoenix is the type of Christ. Coming from heaven, he brought the fragrance of holy words, that with outstretched hands we may pray, and send upward spiritual fragrance.' The last words allude to the tradition that, whether burned or not, the dying phoenix diffuses a cloud of perfume.

We are now in a position to say definitely that the bird of the Umm Jerar mosaic is a phoenix, and that the object upon which he sits in his nest-pyre is an altar. Here a point of some interest arises: the altar is not of any classical type, but a Persian fire-altar. This suggests that the artist came from a region in which the Persian type was rather more familiar than the classical, perhaps that he came from territory adjoining Persia. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that there are other Persian features in this mosaic, two birds with typical Sassanian 'streamers' attached to their necks;¹ still more, perhaps, by the circumstance that more than one of the early mosaic pavements discovered at different times in Jerusalem bear Armenian inscriptions, one of them being closely related in style to that from Wādi Shellal.² The time was one in which eastern influence, and not least Persian, was exceedingly strong in the field of Christian art, especially in ornament, and motives of Mesopotamian and Persian origin were familiar to the populations of Syria and Palestine, Armenians acting frequently as intermediaries. Thus an earlier example of this very type of fire-altar is found in the scene of Abraham's sacrifice on the large ivory pyxis of the fourth century at Berlin (fig. 2), a work executed almost certainly at Antioch in a pure Hellenistic style, and in an illumination of the same subject in the Gospel of Edgmiatsin, which is more nearly contemporary with

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, xxxiv, Jan. 1919, p. 4; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, July 1918, p. 122.

² *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 126; *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*, xviii, p. 88 and pl. 1; *Mittheilungen* of the same Society, 1895, p. 51.

our pavement.¹ The Umm Jerar mosaic, with its carpet-like designs and Persian details, is yet another document in proof of the Oriental influence which spread like a tide over the Mediterranean provinces during the three centuries before the Arab conquest.

There is another point of interest connected with the Umm Jerar phoenix: it gives us, perhaps, a detail from the earliest illustration of the *Physiologus*, which has not been preserved as a whole. The Smyrna MS., the most ancient of the Greek bestiaries now known, is clearly a late copy of a much older illuminated codex, perhaps painted in the monastery of St. Catherine upon Mount Sinai. The oldest *Physiologus* literature is of Syro-Egyptian origin, and the original illustration of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a book in



Fig. 2. A FIRE-ALTAR: DETAIL FROM THE CARVED IVORY PYXIS AT BERLIN.

which the animals are related to *Physiologus* types, is thought to have been itself produced on Sinai between the years A.D. 547-9.² It is a remarkable thing that no early illuminated manuscript of the *Physiologus* has survived, and that hitherto the other arts have also failed us, for the book was one making a wide appeal to popular interest.³ It has always seemed an anomaly that while the symbolism of the Greek bestiary was of the advanced kind above indicated, all the known beast-ornament of the first seven or eight hundred years of our era

¹ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 115 and p. 195, where the necessary references are given; Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin Evangeliar*, pl. iv.

² Strzygowski, *Bilderkreis*, etc. p. 94. The Capture of the Unicorn occurs in the Vatican Cosmas. Strzygowski notes the analogy between the *Physiologus* beasts, and those of the Psalters with marginal illustration, which also are of monastic origin.

³ A similar case was that of the Byzantine Psalter. The oldest illustrated psalter dates from the ninth century, but is clearly based on an earlier redaction. But until the discovery of the sixth-century frescoes with the story of David at Bawit, and the silver dishes in Cyprus with similar scenes, it seemed as if we should never get near to the actual prototypes.

was either naturalistic after the Hellenistic manner, or symbolic in the simple style of the early Christians: so far as research went, advanced symbolism found little illustration. The anomaly was indeed so great that some searched for an ulterior cause; others attributed the failure to sheer bad luck. Strzygowski, with his usual penetration, thought it probable that, after all, new discovery in the East-Christian field must ultimately confirm the existence of really old bestiary designs, and the Umm Jerar mosaic helps to justify his belief. Books are perishable; it may be that the desired early codex will never be found, and that the West will continue to possess the oldest picture-book of symbolic beasts.¹ But the East, which certainly invented mystical zoology, probably illustrated it from the first.

Mr. H. R. HALL was specially interested in the slide taken from a Smyrna manuscript. An Egyptian of the Roman period would have recognized the scene as the incarnation of the sun-god in the sacred crane of Heliopolis which gave rise to the phoenix legend. He agreed that the burning of the bird was a late feature: there was no trace of it in the Egyptian texts: the Persian or Magian altar was readily recognized on the screen, and was a convenient model for a fire altar.

Mr. DRUCE said the author had not referred to manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which gave a full account of the phoenix with illustrations. On the first day the priest found nothing; on the second, a small worm; and on the third the phoenix fully fledged. It was a great disadvantage to have no early Greek bestiaries. The earliest extant were in Latin, but they originally appeared in Greek. It was not clear whether *Physiologus* represented a person. Origen in the third century had *nam Physiologus scribit*, but in the twelfth and thirteenth century texts the phrase was *Physiologus dicit* or *dixit*.

The PRESIDENT said Mr. Dalton had hung a great deal on a small pencil-drawing and had touched on broad aspects of the question of East or West. It was a national duty to undertake

¹ MS. 10074 in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, dated in the second half of the tenth century; for information with regard to this book I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Druce, F.S.A. Perhaps the fact that the first western illustrations of the bestiary do not appear to copy a pre-existing cycle but to have begun *de novo*, justifies us in fearing the worst as regards early East-Christian MS. prototypes. It almost looks as if no illuminated example had reached the West, which would suggest that the pictured book was very rare even in the tenth century. Unless, therefore, some unsearched eastern monastery contains such a treasure in its library, we must look to less perishable monuments than books.

the explorations of lands that had recently come under British control, and not to wait for foreign competition in that field. The Society also should do its share towards educating public opinion, in order that material welfare might not obscure something more worth while. The War had at least given British archaeology a splendid opportunity, and the paper had shown some of the possibilities of research.

O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., also read the following note on a sculptured marble slab from northern Mesopotamia. The marble slab which forms the subject of this note is carved upon both sides (figs. 1 and 2). Its present height is 4 ft. 2 in., the fracture at the top leaving us to conclude that it has lost a whole panel equal in size to that at the bottom: when perfect it must therefore have measured quite 6 ft. The breadth is 1 ft. 9 in.

The purpose for which it was made is not certain. It has been suggested that it may be a valve from a pair of folding doors; but though there are two holes drilled in the side edges about ten inches from the top, they hardly seem adapted for hinges. Another suggestion is that it may have filled the lower part of the central light in a triple window; an example in the Church of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis shows that this is possible, for the middle slab is there about seven feet high.¹ Then one naturally thinks of the panels forming part of iconostases, when these screens are of marble, though for the most part slabs used for this purpose are not so high as this. In short it is difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of an example so tall in proportion to its breadth; and perhaps the matter is of little consequence. The place of origin is given as a church in Miarfarkin (Tigranocerta), a site about forty miles to north-east of Diarbekr, the ancient Amida.² The slab was first made known by the publication, in an archaeological work on Diarbekr, of a photograph of it obtained, perhaps in Aleppo, by the French General de Beylié, a recognized authority on Byzantine domestic architecture.³ The publication may have had something to do with the appearance of the slab itself in the possession of a dealer in Paris, by whom it was offered to the British Museum in 1914.

¹ Schultz and Barnsley, *The Church of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis*, p. 25, and pl. xl.

² Christianity was established in Amida from the fourth century. The town was, at a later period, in the area conquered by the Crusaders. We read of attacks made by Moslems upon churches at the close of the thirteenth century (Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, iv, 1904, p. 409).

³ Van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 366.

The style of the ornament is of a familiar type; it is that which marks so much of the decorative sculpture executed between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, though some of the elements which compose it may be traced back to earlier times: the interlacing triple band, for example, which encloses the several



Fig. 1. CARVED MARBLE SLAB FROM
MIAFARKIN, N. MESOPOTAMIA.



Fig. 2. CARVED MARBLE SLAB FROM
MIAFARKIN, N. MESOPOTAMIA.

parts of the design in circles, lozenges, and squares is itself of more remote origin. It is the combination with certain formal floral motives such as rosettes and palmette-derivatives, or with conventionalized beasts and monsters like the gryphon, which makes the work characteristic of the above-named period. The square lower compartment on one side with its five birds bears a close analogy to one of the slabs round the fountain

in the court of the Monastery of Lavra on Mount Athos, a building of which the foundation goes back to the early eleventh century. We may also compare birds and animals carved on the tympanum of the west door of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis, dating from the same time.¹

The first part of the ornament to claim attention is that filling the upper panel in fig. 1. Here the spandrels are occupied by ordinary birds, but in the centre is a two-headed eagle. It is well known that this type is first found in art upon Hittite reliefs in Asia Minor, not reappearing, so far as our present knowledge goes, until the middle ages. The earliest medieval date now claimed for it is the seventh or eighth century, since it is found on a red-sandstone relief from Stara Zagora in Bulgaria, to which relief that age is assigned by national archaeologists.² This is still an isolated occurrence for such a period, but there seems no reason to call it in question in view of other oriental features in early Bulgarian archaeology, explained by contact with Hither Asia before the migration to the Balkans. The examples, however, which are held to have introduced the two-headed birds into the heraldry of Europe are three or four centuries later. They begin upon coins and other monuments of Ortokid and Zengid (Seljūk) princes of Mesopotamia in the last quarter of the twelfth century, continuing into the century following, one of the best known examples being carved in relief on the walls of Diarbekr, with an inscription giving the name of Mahmud II and the date A.D. 1208-9.³ It was just about this time that the bicephalic eagle was chosen as an imperial emblem by the Greek Empire of Nicaea, apparently making its way also into Central Europe to be adopted rather later by the Empire in the West. It would thus seem that even if the type had entered Europe at an earlier time by way of Bulgaria, the historically significant instances are those of the Seljūks, which as far as we know do not go back further than A.D. 1175. As far as style goes, the Miasfarkin slab might be ascribed to almost any part of the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, and we have already seen that examples of eleventh-century decorative sculpture are very like it. But the style was one of long persistence, and the occurrence of the eagle with two heads

¹ Schultz and Barnsley, *The Church of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis*, pl. xii. It may be specially noted that the ape seems also to be represented on the tympanum.

² B. Filow, *Early Bulgarian Art*, pl. ii and p. 5. I omit the duplications of birds' heads in early textiles because they can be explained by the operation of technical causes. Examples may be seen in O. von Falke's *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*; see especially figs. 200, 202, 249, 254, 293, 296.

³ Van Berchem and Strzygowski, as above, pp. 88 ff.

perhaps justifies us in assuming a date not far removed from the year A.D. 1200; the rather careless execution of the work tends to confirm this view.

In the above we implicitly accept the common belief that the two-headed bird as an emblem of sovereignty was adopted by Byzantine and European rulers from the Seljûks: this on the whole seems probable, though it is not certain; the more obvious difficulties, at any rate, are not insuperable. Thus the Mohammedan bird appears not to be an eagle at all, but to belong to the falcon family. This may only mean that the matter of real importance was less the species of the bird than the duplication of the head, each people choosing for the transformation the bird which it regarded as most royal, the Hittites, and later the Byzantines, the eagle, the Turkish tribes the falcon. The origin may in fact be plausibly traced to a psychological cause: the doubling of the emblem's head meant double power and majesty for the prince.¹ It was only when Mahmud II captured Diarbekr that he added a second head to his emblem; the inference is that a two-headed bird was alone adequate to his new dignity of sultan. It may well be that in this action he was doing what had been done many times before by great chiefs of the Seljûks, whose twenty-four sub-tribes had each a bird of prey for totem; it may have been a customary way of asserting a paramount position.

We cannot be sure that the type on the Miafarkin slab was suggested by the emblem of the Ortukid sultan, despite the near neighbourliood of the town to Diarbekr. It may be derived from Armenia, to which country the two-headed bird may have also come direct from Asia; we find the bicephalic eagle in relief on the church of St. Gregory at Dsegi.² Other instances from Central Asia, suggesting transmission westward by more than one route, are the examples, styled Garudas by Grünwedel, in Buddhist cave-paintings of the eighth century at Mingoi in Chinese Turkestan,³ and the yet earlier bird carved on the base of a shrine at Taxila, twenty miles north-west of Rawal Pindi.⁴ The preference for the eagle on Christian monuments may perhaps be explained by the fact that even apart from a possible reminiscence of the Roman symbol, the eagle has its own place in

¹ Anthropology and folk-lore afford sufficient examples of the primitive logic by which such conclusions are reached; the head has always been regarded as specially important.

² Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, 1918, pp. 284 and 287, with fig. 323.

³ A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, 1912, especially fig. 107, p. 54.

⁴ Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918, pl. xii.

Christian tradition. It is often mentioned in Scripture, and it was the symbol of St. John. More significant, perhaps, is its recognition at some time by the Church as the emblem of the prophet Elisha, because it symbolizes the double portion of Elijah's spirit which passed to him.¹ Here we should have a psychological cause of the same kind as that suggested above, but I am unable to say in what century this symbol of Elisha was first used.

The other side of the slab (fig. 2) has now two compartments with animal ornament, the lower rectangular, the upper round; between these are two smaller circles containing debased palmettes, and all compartments, large and small, are framed and connected by interlacing bands. In the spandrels are four beasts, three quadrupeds, and a bird apparently armed with a shield, a motive which will recall similar grotesque figures in western medieval art.

The chief interest centres in the two large panels, and more especially in the lower. Here we see the quatrefoil basin of a fountain, from which rises a vertical stem, with leaves about the middle, crowned by a pine-cone; to right and left of the basin stand gryphons, one of which is drinking. The branches ending in trefoils which converge towards the centre from the two upper corners serve only to fill void space. In the upper circular compartment we have almost a repetition of the same subject. Again there is a fountain, this time with a columnar stem flanked by diverging palmette-leaves; again there are branches with trefoils descending from the top; again beasts to right and left, though here there is no question of drinking, but one beast, an ape, extends a paw to the leaves upon the vertical stem.

The fountain surmounted by a pine-cone² appears to be represented in the sixth-century mosaics of St. Vitale at Ravenna, in the scene representing the Empress Theodora in the forecourt or atrium of the church;³ here the base is columnar. It is quite clear on a marble relief in Berlin, said to have been obtained in Venice, showing a hart beside a similar columnar fountain with pine-cone, and dated, on grounds of style, fifth to

¹ F. X. Kraus, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Adler*.

² For the subject generally, see J. Strzygowski, *Der Pinienzapfen als Wasserspeier*, in *Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen Arch. Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, xviii, 1903, pp. 185 ff.

³ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 213, p. 356, where other references are given. It is possible that the expansion at the summit may only indicate a third jet of water, but the resemblance to the next example, where there can be no mistake, makes the representation of the cone probable.

sixth century.¹ Another relief, still in Venice,² resembles ours in showing two gryphons at the pine-cone fountain, the base of which is now in the form of a vase: the date is by some considered as late as the thirteenth century; others place it as early as the sixth. Another early medieval variant with the gryphons is fixed in the façade of a church at Athens:³ in this the pine-cone looks somewhat like a fruit in a pot, and the gryphons, instead of drinking, are pecking at it, the artist being even more uncertain as to the meaning of his subject than the



Fig. 3. MOSAIC OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY AT DAPHNI: THE PRAYER OF JOACHIM AND ANNA.

carver of our own panel, where the two beasts in the upper part seem to think of eating rather than drinking. The closest parallels come, however, as we should expect, from mosaics and illuminations of the period between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, that in the mosaics of the monastic church of Daphni in Attica (about A.D. 1100) being especially close (fig. 3); here, in the Prayer of Joachim and Anne, of which the scene is a garden, we see a fountain with quatrefoil basin, and

¹ O. Wulff, *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, 1909, no. 33 (Cat. of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum); Strzygowski, as above, p. 193.

² Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, ii, fig. on p. 573; Dalton, as above, fig. 452; Strzygowski, as above, p. 194; the relief is in St. Mark's, outside the Treasury.

³ Best reproduced by Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, i, p. 147.

a smaller basin half-way up the stem into which some of the water streams from the holes in the cone at the top.¹ In manuscripts the fountain, flanked by beasts and birds, is seen above Eusebian Canons or ornamenting illuminated initials.² An interesting example in metal occurs on the bronze doors of Salerno.³

In all these cases the pine-cone is an essential feature; it is not added as a finial for purely ornamental purposes. Its use on fountains of the Middle Ages, and probably in earlier times, is confirmed by the survival of three actual examples in stone and bronze. The first, of granite, obtained at Sulu Monastir, is now in the Ottoman Museum of Constantinople; it is believed to have formed part of a fountain in a church atrium.⁴ The second is the well-known Pigna in the Vatican,⁵ which, according to the inscription, was made before the Christian era; perhaps even from the first it may have formed part of a fountain, but it is generally supposed to have been made, and for a time used, as an *akroterion* on the Pantheon of Agrippa, destroyed by fire A.D. 80. Whatever its original destination, it seems to have served as a fountain, before the reign of Septimius Severus, in the quarter of the Campus Martius, and to have remained there until removed to old St. Peter's in the twelfth century. The third example is another bronze cone at Aix-la-Chapelle, locally known as the 'artichoke', dating in all probability from the first half of the eleventh century. It is cast in one piece with a rectangular plinth supporting four figures of the Rivers of Paradise, to which an inscription below relates; this is a point of some importance, as it brings the pine-cone into definite association with life-giving waters.⁶ Less directly, this had been indicated by the presence of the hart on the Berlin relief and by various manuscript illustrations. Thus in a miniature in an Oktateuch at Smyrna representing the building of the Tabernacle, the text (Exod. xxxi. 2) says of Bezaleel: 'I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom and in understanding and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship.'⁷

¹ G. Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni*, pl. xix, i.

² Examples are figured by Strzygowski. Birds with long ears are seen in a miniature in a Lesser Armenian MS. of A. D. 1198 reproduced by the same author in his *Altai und Iran*, p. 283; the creature opposite the ape upon the slab may therefore be intended for a bird.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 191; H. W. Schultz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, ii, pl. lxxxv; de Beylié, *L'Habitation byzantine*, p. 132.

⁴ Strzygowski, as above, p. 202.

⁵ Petersen, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Vatican*, i, p. 901; Hülsen, *Mittheilungen*, as above, p. 203; Leclercq in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, s.v. *Canthare*.

⁶ Strzygowski, as above, p. 203 ff., and *Der Dom zu Aachen*, p. 17.

⁷ Fol. 106: Strzygowski, p. 198.

The miniature shows two men holding out their hands to jets of water sprayed from the fountain; and it is clear that the vivifying streams which issue from the cone symbolize the Spirit of God. In another manuscript, where the fountain appears to be set directly above a cross, symbolism is carried yet a stage further.¹ We may further note that in an early Latin translation of a fifth-century chronicle written in Alexandria, the subject of a lost miniature is described as *arbor vitæ fluens aquas*²; it is not certain that the Tree of Life here mentioned was represented with a cone, but it is probable, and we may well have here an earlier association of water and tree than that at Aix-la-Chapelle. Literary evidence relating to the ninth century points in the same direction. Of four fountains with pine-cones in the precincts of the Great Palace at Constantinople, two in the atrium of the *Nea* or new church of Basil I, and two in the court before the buildings erected by Theophilus, one, belonging to the second pair, is described as 'the mystic fountain'.³ The gryphons which in ancient times were looked upon as guardians and at later periods had a prophylactic significance may to this extent add to the symbolism of the design. But in the manuscripts all manner of creatures are seen at the fountain, from camels and elephants down to small birds, and the only 'morality' intended may be that the mightiest and the weakest have an equal need of the life-giving water.

We have now to inquire why the pine-cone was singled out to crown the fountain of life from the fruit of all other trees; to this question an ingenious answer has been given by Bonavia.⁴

The pine-cone was a symbol of fertility in that cult of Mithras which was for a long time the dangerous rival of Christianity, and passed into the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire from Mesopotamian Persia.⁵ This is a locality which naturally

¹ Cod. Pal. 5, Parma, fol. 10

² Strzygowski, p. 205. The translation is in the *Barbarus* of Scaliger. See A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo*, p. 190.

³ Continuator of Theophanes, III, p. 141 (Bonn edition); J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople*, p. 111; Strzygowski, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, p. 19. M. Ebersolt would explain the use of the word mystic by the neighbourhood of a kind of whispering gallery known as 'the mystery', but it seems as natural, in default of direct evidence that this was so, to connect the meaning with the mystery of the Tree of Life. Or the whispering gallery may have received its name from an earlier fountain on the same spot.

⁴ The sacred trees of Assyria, *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, ii, 1893, pp. 248, 257.

⁵ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés*, p. 216. The cone was also associated with the cult of Attis.

tempts us to look back towards more ancient cults; we then recall the winged genii who guard the gates of Assyrian palaces. These bear in one hand a pine-cone,¹ in the other a bucket-like vessel; and it is plausibly conjectured that the cone served as an *aspergillum* with which consecrated water from the bucket was sprinkled on the jambs and lintels to avert evil influences. The water is vivifying and protective, like the cone itself, a source of life and strength antagonistic to all powers of evil. It is easy to imagine the sequence of ideas which would give the two together entrance into the symbolism of later religious creeds. Their appearance in association in Christian symbolism may well be more than a coincidence, though it is of course true that no consecutive chain of evidence exists connecting the Assyrian and the Christian monuments. Anthropology and folk-lore know so many instances of extreme tenacity in beliefs of this kind that it is often the case of disappearance rather than that of survival which surprises. Reappearance after long intervals which to us seem blank is frequently to be explained rather by our own ignorance than by any real break in transmission. The reappearance of the pine-cone in connexion with the water of life is in some ways comparable to that of the two-headed bird as a symbol of supreme power; in each case we assume an ancient association of ideas to have continued its obscure life, coming into contact with history at only a few points here and there, but not the less continuous for not being always in sight. Our failure to trace its complete course proves nothing; in certain cases the known vitality of primitive beliefs leaves it open to us to regard survival as probable until strong evidence to the contrary is produced.

Before leaving the motive of the pine-cone and the living water in East-Christian art we may notice its persistence in the medieval art of the West down to the Renaissance. A blundered version occurs on the well-known 'Constantine medallion', modelled in all probability by a Flemish or Burgundian artist at the close of the fourteenth century²; while a rendering of surprising accuracy is found on an Italian wooden casket of

¹ Some consider this object a palm-spathe, and the form is connected with phallic ideas. The resemblance to actual botanical species matters little. In ornament, natural species are allowed to pass over into each other in a manner which has no relation to scientific fact, and at any stage in development new modifications may be introduced. Where for any reason the origin has been forgotten, the process of transformation is quickened. Thus the palmette and acanthus are compelled by decorative arts into forms impossible in nature. In this way a palm-spathe might easily in course of time assume the character of a cone, especially if the subject passed out of a country of palms into one of coniferous trees.

² J. von Schlosser, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xviii, 1897: *Die ältesten Medaillen und die Antike*.

rather later date in the British Museum, where the ornamentation of painted and gilded gesso repeats the fountain upon all the surfaces except the back.¹

Mr. CAMPBELL THOMPSON had seen the Hittite double eagle dating from the fifteenth century B.C. found at Euyuk in Anatolia, and was curious to know what happened to the type during that long interval. There had always been an element of doubt in the fir-cone, and the suggestion was made that it was really the date-spathe for fertilizing the date-palm, known in the time of Herodotus.

Mr. H. R. HALL thought that such an origin was possible, but it would be misunderstood by northern peoples familiar with fir-cones. In Greece it had a less serious significance, and was associated with wine and Dionysus.

The PRESIDENT said the author had travelled far afield and had described the slab in all its bearings. All things considered, the iconostasis theory seemed the most plausible: a thin slab would there serve as a panel and be visible on both sides.

The PRESIDENT exhibited the Breadalbane brooch, on which he made the following observations:

The silver brooch I have the pleasure of showing this evening first appeared at Messrs. Christie's sale-room, where it was put up to auction on 5th July 1917, with other property belonging to the Hon. Thomas George Breadalbane Morgan-Grenville-Gavin. It appears likely, though it is not so stated in the catalogue, that this brooch was among the objects in the sale that had been collected by the second Marquess of Breadalbane (1796-1862); but no account of its discovery is given, and the note following the description that it 'closely resembles the famous Dunipase example'² is misleading, as it resembles other brooches far more closely. Having ascertained that the Edinburgh authorities had no intention of bidding for it, I tried to secure it for the Museum, but was unsuccessful. The buyer at the sale came with it a short time ago, and was good enough to offer to cede it to the Museum for the same sum that he had paid at the sale two years before. I agreed at once to buy it, and since then I have had the good fortune to find that Sir John Ramsden would like to pay the money and give it to the Museum. Before the formal donation, I thought it proper to let the Society see it, as an example of no small importance in a series not over-represented in the national collection.

¹ I hope to publish this casket at an early date.

² J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, fig. 20.

I do not propose to enter into any detailed description of the brooch. In the first place the Fellows can examine it for themselves, and the lantern slide enables them to see its front view very clearly. Secondly, Mr. Reginald Smith has already drawn up, and the Society has printed, a much more exhaustive and complete account of the evolution and relationships of brooches of this type¹ than I could hope to achieve. I propose to invite him to tell the meeting where he would place it in his evolutionary series, and to give its date and to say something about its artistic affinities. Its art motives at once place it in close relation with the ornamental pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels and other contemporary manuscripts, and they, as well as the brooch, are the lineal descendants of that virile Late Celtic art that flourished in Britain at the beginning of the Christian era. Here it became practically extinct, but in the districts untouched or but little disturbed by Roman influence it pursued its natural and legitimate development, with some variety provided by the intrusive art of the Northmen.

MR. REGINALD SMITH added the following notes and showed lantern-slides of other examples of the type.

Hitherto the Breadalbane brooch seems to have escaped publication, and its obscurity may have been an element favourable to its acquisition by the British Museum, but for the same reason its history has also been lost, and we can only conjecture from its present name that this penannular brooch, one of the best of its kind, was found somewhere in Scotland. Ireland, however, is the home of this type, and out of the list of seventy-two published in *Archaeologia*, lxx, 247, only nineteen are known to have come from Scotland. Historical considerations throw some light on this distribution, and incidentally suggest a connexion between this type of brooch and the Scoti who crossed from Ireland late in the fifth century of our era to found the kingdom of Dalriada, and Ireland only ceased to bear the name of Scotia five centuries later. The evolution and decay of the penannular in the British Isles took place therefore in the period that saw the foundation of Scotland. It is unnecessary to repeat the suggested stages in the evolution of what may be called the Scotie type, and it will suffice to examine the present exhibit in the light of that scheme, confining our outlook to the eighth century, which appears to have produced the finest examples. The closest parallel, however, must be sought elsewhere; and any one who will consult Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, fig. 697, will readily admit that the silver-gilt specimen found at Snaasen,

¹ *Archaeologia*, vol. lxx, p. 223.

Nordre Trondhjem, was manufactured on this side of the North Sea and conveyed to Norway as spoil by some plundering expedition in the Viking period. The pin (fig. 698) which may belong to it is of a recognized type, a little later than that of the Breadalbane brooch, and closely allied to that of the Queen's brooch from co. Cavan, now in Dublin Museum.

Both the Snaasen and Queen's brooches have closed terminals, that is, the pin cannot pass between them and had to be made detachable at the head in order to fix the brooch to the clothing. The larger specimens are heavy, and being necessarily thin at the back of the hoop would be liable to break if the ring was not completed by joining the terminals; but this was a comparatively late feature, due to the elaboration of the brooch in the eighth century, and the present example represents the earlier tradition, though probably later than several with joined terminals.

The most striking feature of the ornament is the circular boss in the middle of both terminal plates, with a filigree cord-pattern on gold foil sunk into the top, and round it three crescentic lobes separated from each other by small cabochons of greenish glass, of which one is missing. Another panel of filigree on gold foil is let into the hoop opposite the opening, the pattern being a Carrick bend with two rings simulating eyes and showing the last stage of lacertine ornament. Flanking this panel are two raised lobes, once with semicircular settings and serving to keep the pin away from the middle where it might pass by accident between the terminals. The rest of the hoop as well as the ground of the terminals is decorated with plain interlacing, of good quality, but still inferior to the finest specimens dating about 750. The interval, however, cannot have been long, for not only do birds' heads project from the edges in pairs as on the Tara and Londesborough brooches, but there is a grotesque animal's head issuing from both the crescents that mark the junction of hoop and terminals. This head shows the Irish eye (rounded in front and pointed behind, contrary to the Scandinavian form), and is often seen in that position on penannulars (as on specimens from Canterbury, Dunshaughlin, Croy, co. Cavan, and the Viking series). Its absence from the Tara and Londesborough brooches gives a limit of date for the feature, which is a mark of decadence. Another point of resemblance to the Dunshaughlin brooch is the use of angle-pieces on the terminals, which were once inlaid and served to thicken and strengthen corners that were liable to be bent in use or even to scratch the flesh. As these go back to the time of the Londesborough (on the pin-head) and Hunterston brooches, it may be argued that the Breadalbane brooch is not long after the best period; and

this view is confirmed by the discovery, on the back of the terminals (after the removal of the modern backing), of two discs with scroll-work of excellent style as seen also behind the Tara, Londesborough, and Snaasen examples.

Though the pin is broken, its head is characteristic, and finds a parallel in the Rogart group from Sutherlandshire, one from Pierowall, Orkney, and the Skryne brooch from a tumulus in co. Meath. The flattened and expanded head of Rogart no. 2 bears the same simple interlacing, and, to judge from extant specimens, this simplification of the pin-head took place after the key-stone form of the finest period and before the oblongs of the ninth century. By analogy the pin would have been a little more than 6 in. long, the diameter of the hoop being 3·8 in., and the opening 2·7 in.

This summary description of an elaborate jewel makes sufficiently clear its relation to other examples of the type, and fixes within narrow limits its position in the scheme submitted in 1914. Time alone can prove or disprove the chronology, and more dated specimens are required; but the Breadalbane brooch easily falls into its place. If the finest examples date between 730 and 750, and the Rogart group is placed about 800, the date of the present exhibit would be midway between them, provisionally 770-80 A.D. The type had passed its prime, but a high standard was inevitably reached by any Irish or Scotie products of the eighth century, the most artistic in the history of the island.

The PRESIDENT conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Smith for showing how the Breadalbane brooch fitted into the scheme elaborated in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxv, by means of a series of lantern slides; and thought the Society would like to convey to Sir John Ramsden their appreciation of his generosity in presenting so valuable a specimen to the national collection.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.



THE BREADALBANE BROOCH : FRONT, AND BACK OF TERMINALS
(SLIGHTLY REDUCED).



THURSDAY, 15th JANUARY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Horace Sandars, Esq., Vice-President, for his gift of *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*; by Alexandre de Laborde: 2 vols.: Paris 1806-12.

F. EASTWOOD, Esq., exhibited five medieval ridge-tiles from Woodyates Manor House, Salisbury.

MILL STEPHENSON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited and presented three monumental brasses of the sixteenth century formerly in the collection of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, F.S.A. The brasses consist of a man in armour, wearing a tabard, and a lady, both kneeling at faldstools, and a standing figure of a civilian in a long gown.

A special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Stephenson for this gift.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows no papers were read.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m., and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society:

Col. Michael George Foster, O.B.E., M.A., M.D.

Sir William Watts, K.C.B.

James Hall Renton, Esq.

Rev. Salisbury James Murray Price, D.D.

Henry Walter Fincham, Esq.

Richard Llewellyn Lloyd, Esq.

Frederick Charles Eden, Esq.

THURSDAY, 22nd JANUARY 1920.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Henry Walter Fincham, Esq., and Frederick Charles Eden, Esq. were admitted Fellows.

On the nomination of the President, the following were appointed auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1919:

Francis William Pixley, Esq.

Percival Davis Griffiths, Esq.

Ralph Griffin, Esq.

William Paley Baildon, Esq.

Professor J. L. MYRES, M.A., F.S.A., and L. H. D. BUXTON, Esq., M.A., communicated a paper on excavations in Cyprus in 1913, on behalf of the Island Museum, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The Government of Cyprus having provided a sum of £450 for antiquarian research, excavations were undertaken in the autumn of 1913 by Professor Myres, with the assistance of Mr. Menelaos Markides, the Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, and Mr. L. H. D. Buxton, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. The latter was enabled by a grant from the British Association for the Advancement of Science to follow the whole course of the work and devote himself to the study of the human remains, and of the physical character of the modern population of each district.

The first site excavated was near the village of Levkoniko in the Famagusta district, where some large statues had recently been found by the villagers. A small rural sanctuary was cleared, containing a remarkable deposit of stone sculptures, representing all periods of workmanship from the seventh century B.C. to the Graeco-Roman period, and almost unique for the brilliant preservation of its painted surfaces.

At Enkomi, near Salamis, tombs were opened in the necropolis whence the British Museum obtained a fine series of late Minoan antiquities. But this site is now nearly exhausted; only two tombs were found intact, and the results of the operations here were mainly topographical.

At Lampousa, near Lapethos, on the north coast, where important Byzantine treasures have been found at various times, a small area of the site was completely cleared, and found to have been deeply quarried and quite rebuilt in the Roman period.

Objects, however, of Hellenic and even of late Bronze Age styles were found in the debris.

Between Lapethos and the sea, an unusually rich series of tombs of early and middle Bronze Age, quite undisturbed, yielded many bronze implements, a large quantity of typical pottery, and a remarkable type of conventionalized figurines. It was possible, for the first time, to determine the mode of interment, and the physical characters of the population.

At Larnaca, a complete section of the Bamboula Hill provided the first stratified series of Cypriote pottery and important guidance for the topography and history of ancient Kition.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 29th JANUARY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The Reverend J. K. FLOYER, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on the ancient Manor House of the Bishopric of Winchester at Esher.

The only part of the ancient manor house of the bishop of Winchester now visible above the ground is the gatehouse built by Bishop Wainfleet about 1485. Nor until a few years ago, when an original map of 1606 (fig. 1) was discovered in a house in Esher,¹ was there any indication of the extent of the dwelling to which the gatehouse belonged. In this map the gatehouse was seen to have been the entrance to a large base court; north and south were long narrow buildings, those on the south partitioned off by a fence, while on the more remote side of the court bordering on the river Mole was a porch leading on the right through a hall into the main portion of the dwelling, built on a slight promontory on the river, in the right-hand further corner of the base court. In 1912 the present owners of the estate made some excavations in front of the gatehouse with a view to discovering if there had been a moat, as a search of the same kind had revealed one at Hampton Court. The quest was unsuccessful, but the excavations were afterwards continued on the north side of the quadrangle, with the result that the foundations of the former buildings were uncovered. These consisted of a range of rooms with an upper story approached

¹ Now in the possession of Lord D'Abernon at Esher.

by a newel staircase at the river end. The windows faced the court, and there was a fireplace at the back. The building, which was in brick, may have been a bachelor's lodging. When opening up the foundations of the wall connecting the north side of the gatehouse with the end of this range of buildings, it was discovered that the foundation cut across an older stone wall. There was no opportunity of excavating the site of the body of the house on the river, as part of it was covered by trees; it was therefore impossible to ascertain the extent of the brick building, but from such indications as could be detected, it became fairly evident that that portion of the house which was contemporary with the building of the gatehouse was built entirely in brick, and consisted of the gatehouse itself, and the whole of the quadrangle, including the hall, but excluding the dwelling-house proper. The gatehouse gave access, by a passage wide enough for carts, to the base court, across which was the main door of the house.

The plan of the house as revealed by the map, and by the excavations so far as they were carried, is illustrated by Cavendish in his *Life of Wolsey*, written before 1561. From this we learn further that the 'Great Chamber' in the body of the house was on the first floor and looked out into the base court. Cavendish saw Cromwell leaning in the great window with a Primer in his hand, 'saying of our Lady Mattins'. Leading out of this Great Chamber was a closet in which Wolsey said Mass. In the Great Chamber he entertained the duke of Norfolk, and from another source we learn that here in 1600 Richard Drake entertained Queen Elizabeth. Near it was the chief bedchamber. There was a second floor containing bed and other chambers. This brings the general plan of the house to a great extent in accord with Oxburgh Hall in Norfolk, with which it is contemporary.

Oxburgh was built in 1482 entirely in brick, an unusual material for large houses at this time, except in some of the eastern counties. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the style of building in brick, with patterns in black headers on the outside, was introduced not long before this by those who had been for some time living in France during the French Wars.¹ These large gatehouses were intended as residences for the steward of the manor where he would transact his business and keep his accounts, &c.

The sole description of the hall at Esher is that given by Aubrey in his *History of Surrey*, printed in 1718. He says, 'On the timber work in the hall, not unlike that in Westminster

¹ See 'English Brick Buildings of the Fifteenth Century', by J. K. Floyer, *Arch. Journ.*, vol. lxx, 121.

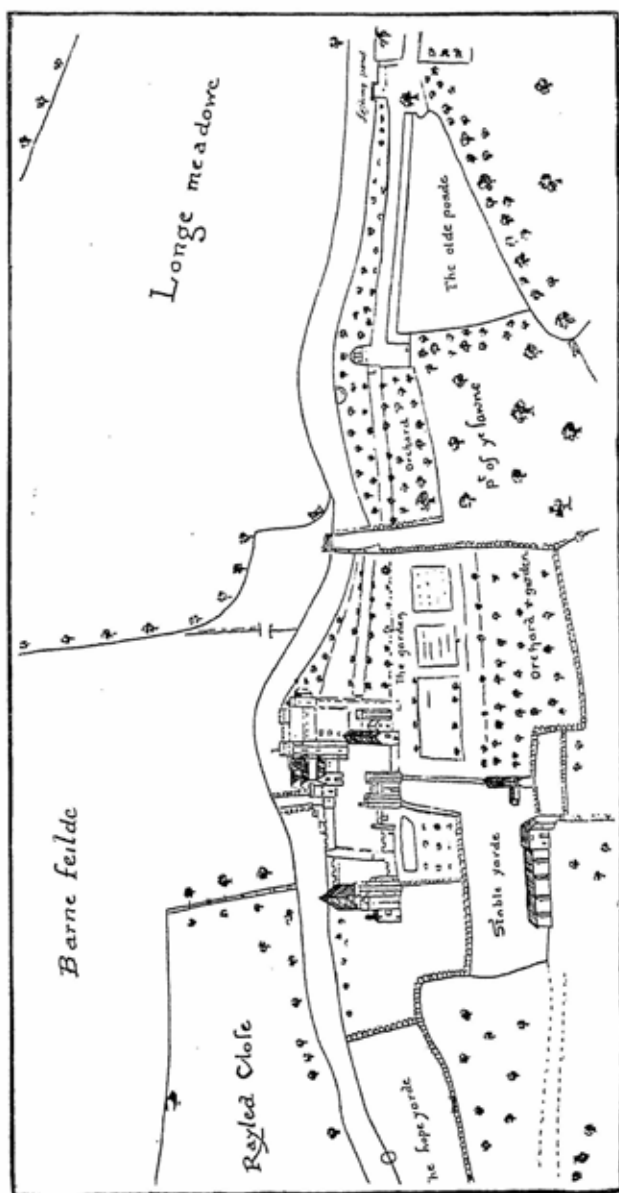


Fig. 1. ESHER PLACE, FROM A PLAN OF 1606 (now in the possession of Lord D'Abernon).

Hall, are several angels, carved in wood, sustaining escocheons, on two of which are scrowls bearing this inscription, "Tibi Christe". In the windows frequently occur "Sit Deo Gratia". This sounds like the description of a hall built at the end of the fifteenth century, and so this portion may also be ascribed to Bishop Wainfleet. The difficulty is to determine if the main body of the house was included in Wainfleet's rebuilding.

This cannot be settled without further excavation, and possibly not then. But the main block of the house probably existed before Wainfleet's time. The evidence for this, so far as it goes, is that the arrangement at Esher differs from the contemporary houses at Oxburgh and East Barsham (built about 1500) by having the Great Chamber or parlour on the first floor above the kitchens and pantries, instead of on the left of the hall. A passage in a pamphlet called 'Downtrodden Strength', by Hart On-hi,¹ shows that this was the arrangement of the Esher house in 1647.

If the house had all been rebuilt by Wainfleet, possibly the plan would have followed that of those other contemporary houses, but the reconstruction of the dwelling portion was not then found necessary by Bishop Wainfleet. The Bishop's house at Esher had, in fact, been considerably enlarged about 1331. In the Patent Rolls of that year Licence was given to John (de Stratford), Bishop of Winchester, to close a way 176 perches long and 2 perches broad, leading from Westford to Claybrigg, for the enlargement of his dwelling-house at Esher, on condition that he made on his own land a like way, equally convenient for use. A fine of half a mark was paid. On the ordnance map a boundary line is drawn on the side of the Mole away from the Bishop's place, which in length and width corresponds very nearly with the dimensions of this strip. West Ford would be where the present Esher Mole bridge is, and Claybridge at a point further down beyond the bishop's house. The footpath which apparently ran on the side of the Mole was pushed back a hundred yards or more to South Weylands Farm. This entry in the Patent Rolls shows that the dwelling-house had been enlarged about 1331, and so need not have become so ruinous as to require rebuilding in Bishop Wainfleet's time about a hundred and fifty years later.

The stone wall passing under the foundation of some of Wainfleet's buildings has already been mentioned, which certainly points to the existence of an older house of stone. But the

¹ 'Mr. Dod came into the house, Mrs. Drake being in the dining room above.' 'As we came near unto the door below she suddenly flung herself upstairs into the next Chamber above.' 'Divers fasts were kept for her in private the next chamber above hers.'

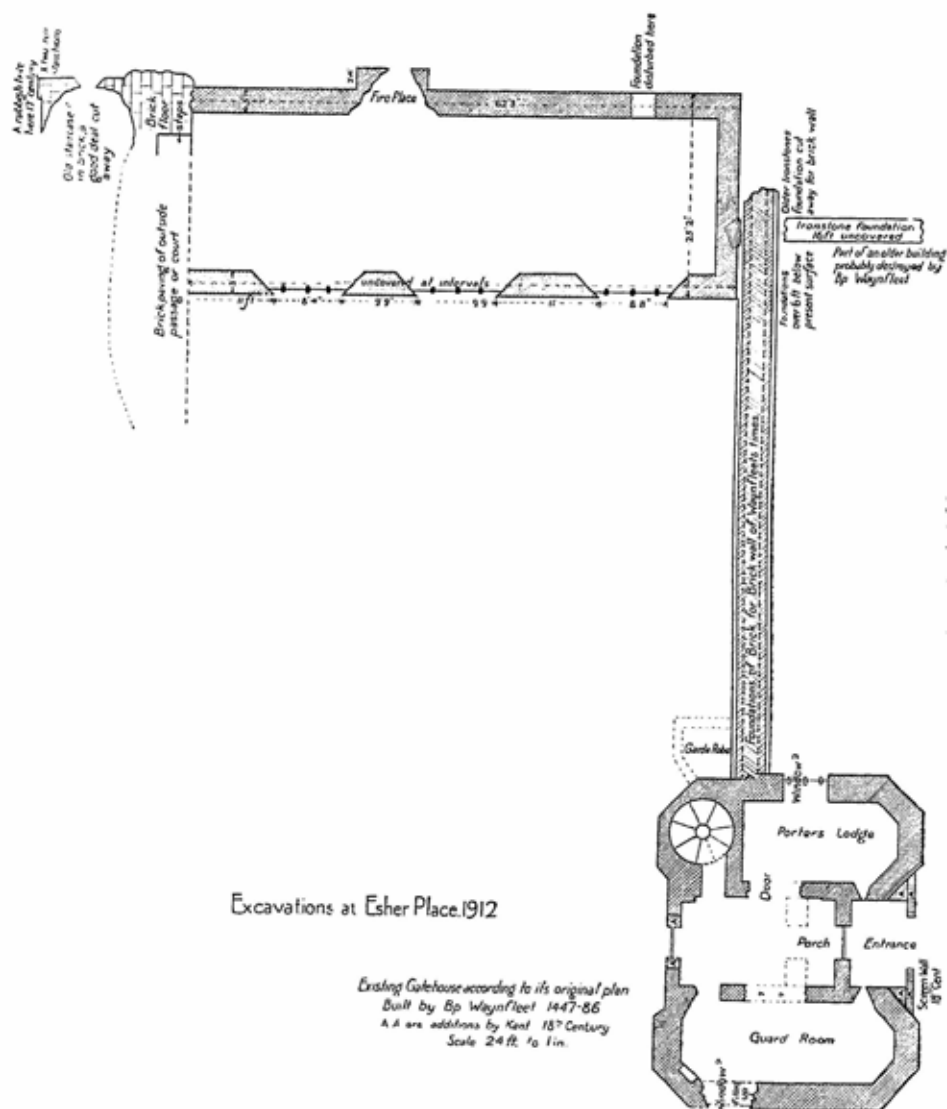


Fig. 2. PLAN OF ESHER PLACE AS EXCAVATED.



question further arises: What was this house which Bishop John de Stratford found existing in 1331?

The first Bishop's house at Esher would have been built soon after 1245, for in that year Bishop Rayleigh bought the Manor from the Abbot and Convent of Netley. It had been granted to Netley in 1239 by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, on the foundation of that house by Henry III. Bishop Peter had bought it from the Abbey of St. Leutfred's Cross, in the diocese of Evreux, to which it had been granted by William the Conqueror. The first Bishop of Winchester who might have required anything more than a cell at Esher was therefore Bishop Rayleigh.

The reason for the medieval bishops having so many manor houses was partly because the manors were for the most part the gifts of the Saxon kings and churchmen. In 1208 the bishop of Winchester held twenty-four such manors. It was easier generally to move from one house to another with a retinue of chaplains and attendants, and consume the produce from the manor where it was grown, than to cause it all to be carried to some central house. Further, the bishop could see to all parts of his diocese better if it were administered from different centres. But the geographical distribution of them was largely the result of chance. Occasionally one bishop or another would develop the house at a particular manor, either because it seemed to him a desirable spot to live in, or more generally because it put him more directly in communication with London if he held some office from the king. Esher was on the way from Winchester to the bishop of Winchester's important palace at Southwark, not many miles off, and formed a convenient halting-place. So Bishop Rayleigh (1244-50) built a lodge of some sort here after he was reconciled to his cathedral city. But it was never more than occasionally used as a residence, on account of the proximity of the more important palace at Southwark.

King Edward I lodged at Esher for a few days in 1289 and again in 1303 during the episcopate of Bishop John de Pontoise. He was then coming from Odiham and going on to Windsor.¹ Bishop Woodlock, *alias* Merewell, who was for a time an outlaw, occupied it in 1315.² At the death of Bishop Sandale in 1319, only a small establishment was found here, two cart horses and a few farm animals.³ The Commissioners found that repairs were also needed to roofs and walls to the value of £13. 6s. 8d.

Bishop Wykeham (1367-1404) lived at Esher occasionally, repaired the premises, and held an Ordination there in 1379.

¹ Close Rolls.

² Papal Register, under 1328.

³ *Sandale's Register*, p. 234.

Bishop Edingdon was here in 1358 and in 1361, and Bishop Beaufort in 1410. It is noticeable that during his tenure of the see, Bishop Wainfleet when at Esher in 1472, transacted business in the manor chapel. In August 1485 he executed the document for the suppression of Selborne Priory in the parish church of St. George at Esher.¹ This was part of his plan for the founding of Magdalen College, Oxford. Later in the same year he did business again in the chapel of the manor at Esher. This looks as if the new chapel of the house had been completed soon after August 1485. Wainfleet after this date frequently held Ordinations at Esher.

King Henry VIII was here in November 1517, for on the 2nd of that month is entered an offering at Esher on All Souls Day of 6s. 8d.² This may either be an offering in church or, more probably, a gratuity to the servants. But the visit of King Henry VIII in 1517 carries us on to the association of Esher Place with Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey had been trying to obtain possession of the Winchester bishopric, and had already offered Bishop Fox a pension if he would surrender it. Wolsey purchased the manor of Hampton Court in 1517, and it appears that about the same time he had arranged with Bishop Fox to let him have the use of the house at Esher, which was conveniently near to superintend the projected buildings at Hampton Court. Henry VIII, therefore, would have been the guest of Wolsey at Esher, not of Bishop Fox. In August 1519 Fox writes in reply to a letter from the Cardinal. 'Would God', he says, 'that the poor lodging at Esher did content your Grace as much as it rejoiceth me that it can please you to use it. Use it in all ways as long and as often as it shall please you, right as your own, and make it a cell of Hampton Court, as the King that dead is, whose soul God pardon, made Hampton Court and its cells to Richmond.'³

Wolsey had the temporalities of the bishopric officially granted to him on October 28, 1528, but was not installed until April 1529, and then by proxy. But in this period of a few months, he had actually carried out some improvements to the house, about three months before his retirement to Esher in disgrace. A passage in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* reads as follows: 'Also the Council had put into the King's head, that the new Gallery at Esher, which my Lord late before his fall newly set up, should be very necessary for the King to take down and set it up again

¹ *Charters of Selborne Priory*, Hants Record Soc., p. 119.

² *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. 2, p. 1476.

³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. 3, p. 150. Elizabeth of York occupied the manor of Hampton Court, occasionally going there from Richmond in 1503. Law, *Short History of Hampton Court*.

at Westminster. Which was done accordingly, and stands at this present day there.¹

The question arises, what sort of gallery was this, which could be erected in a short time and taken down and removed from one place to another? In the Cotton collection in the British Museum is a coloured sketch of a gallery of this kind.¹ It is on two floors, the lower being merely a support for the upper. The ground floor is a row of wooden pillars, painted of different colours, resting on a wooden sill. Between the pillars is light ornamental woodcarving, and this lower portion forms an alley covered by the upper floor from which a series of eight embrasures protrude, alternately semicircular and pointed. These are glazed all round with heraldic glass. The whole is surmounted on the roof by a series of masts bearing devices on small metal banners, and there is much decorated woodwork. What is not wood appears to be plaster. It would have been erected against a long wall and there would have been an entrance from the house. It can hardly have been intended for valuable pictures or works of art, being of rather a flimsy construction, but more probably as a dry place of exercise on a wet day. From the badges and other emblems this coloured sketch is evidently a design for an addition to one of Henry VIII's houses, but it does not appear to have been erected. Probably the King found it easier to send down his workmen to remove Wolsey's gallery from Esher Place, than to have one specially made for Whitehall.

But Wolsey never completed his plans for residence at Esher, for when he retired there on his fall in the summer of 1529 he and his attendants had to continue for the space of three or four weeks 'without beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups and dishes to eat their meat, or to lie in'. 'Howbeit,' says Cavendish, 'there was good provision of all kinds of victuals and of drink both beer and wine whereof there was sufficient and plenty.'²

Wolsey left Esher in February 1530, after a stay of about four months, and died at Leicester in the following autumn on his way back from York to take his trial in London.³

After Wolsey's death Bishop Gardiner, his successor at Win-

¹ Cotton MS. Aug. 1.

² Cavendish, p. 141.

³ In the Library of Magdalen College, Oxford, no. ccxxiii, is an illuminated book of Lections from the Gospels, which belonged to Cardinal Wolsey, whose arms impaled with those of the see of Winchester occur in places. This would indicate that it was prepared for him on his appointment to this see, and so it may have been used by the Cardinal at Esher. Mr. H. A. Wilson, the Librarian, tells me that the passage written inside the first cover, beginning 'Ego T. W. legum doctor', refers not to Wolsey at all, but probably to Thomas White, who was appointed to act as representative of Bishop John White in 1556.

chester, came to Esher in 1532, suffering from the gout. He writes to Cromwell from there at the end of June, lamenting the poverty of the see. He says, 'Remember that I receive £1,300 less from the bishopric than Bishop Fox did, and owe twice as much as he was worth when he died, if his inventory was true, besides the implements of the bishopric, which importeth a great charge, for I find in no place a paimie'.¹

Eight years later, in 1538, King Henry VIII acquired the manor of Esher as part of the scheme, never fully carried out, of creating a Royal Chase, in connexion with Hampton Court, his increasing size preventing him from easily going to Windsor for his hunting, and thus it passed out of the hands of the bishops of Winchester. Queen Mary's reign saw its restoration to its former possessors for a few years, but it was acquired by Queen Elizabeth and bestowed by her in 1582 on Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral at the time of the attempted Spanish invasion. He did not occupy it, but granted it in the following year to Richard Drake, one of the queen's equerries and a cousin of the great navigator. Richard Drake had for four years the custody here of three of the chief admirals captured in the Armada, of whom Don Pedro de Valdez was one.

Sir Francis Drake sent his cousin 'Canary and clarett wine' for their use, and paid him four pounds weekly for their maintenance. They saw a good deal of company of 'Noblemen, Courtiers, Citizens and Strangers that did come into the Country'. But the trouble was with the country people who also wanted to see the distinguished prisoners, and of course the Spanish dons were unwilling to be made a gazingstock. Drake therefore devised the plan of 'often causing one to play upon the tabor and pipe in his hall, and sett them to dauncing, and soe brought in the Spanyards to see them daunce, Whereby they might have sight of the same Spanyards, and there was much beer drunk and much victuals spent in the house at these times'.² Several letters from Don Pedro are extant, written at Esher, which he spells phonetically Axer.³

After the occupation of the manor by the Drakes it changed hands several times, but the house remained practically as Bishop Wainfleet had left it until early in the eighteenth century, when the hall and the body of the house and the north and south sides

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 5, p. 507.

² Lady Elliot-Drake, *Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, 2 vols., 1911.

³ I am informed by Sr. S. de Maderiaga that at that time this word would be pronounced like 'Azure', the nearest approach to Asher, as it is spelt in Shakespeare's play of *Henry VIII* and by Wolsey himself.

of the quadrangle were pulled down. In 1729 it was bought by Mr. Henry Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle and sometime Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pelham employed William Kent to enlarge the gatehouse, which still remained, into a considerable mansion by building a wing on each side. Thus it appears in many contemporary prints. Kent not only altered the house, and introduced the stone mullions and dressings into the gatehouse, but he laid out the gardens, painted enormous portraits of the Pelham family, made an engraving of the house, and designed dresses and cradles for the guests and their children. All Kent's additions were pulled down by Mr. Spicer about 1806, leaving again the gatehouse as it remains now, built by Wainfleet, but with the windows and string courses and the screen wall in front inserted by Kent and many transformations inside. Wainfleet's coat of arms, surrounded by the Garter, may still be seen on the keystone of the vault, which is in itself of some interest. But the only other architectural feature now remaining which repays a visit is a very finely-worked spiral vault in brick over the newel staircase.

Six or seven years ago one side of the tower showed a large crack and seemed in danger of falling. But the present owners with much public spirit took the matter in hand, and had the building preserved from danger, under competent supervision. The gatehouse seems now likely to last for many years, and will soon become one of very few links with antiquity in a neighbourhood where whatever is picturesque or of historical interest or has any sentiment attached to it is quickly disappearing under the pressure of building schemes, commercial life, and high taxation.

Mr. DRUCE inquired whether the manor house relied on the Mole for water. For the Hampton Court supply Wolsey put up buildings at some springs on Coombe Hill, Kingston, which had survived to the present day.

Mr. R. C. FOWLER thought the gatehouse usually survived because it needed less roof to cover it. It was rarely the case that the main buildings outlived the gatehouse.

Mr. PALEY BAILDON remarked that the place-name appeared as Asher in early texts, and that initial vowel was phonetically correct (cf. ash-tree, from the Anglo-Saxon *aesc*). He agreed that the decoration showed foreign influence, which reached its acme in the Holbein gateway of Whitehall; but he thought the suggestion rather fanciful that such influence was due to the imprisonment of English officers in French châteaux.

Mr. A. T. BOLTON was reminded of Compton Wynyates, which was like Hampton Court, the latter being in advance of anything else in England, with water supply due to the knowledge of hydraulics possessed by Wolsey's experts. One of the Cardinal's ideas was exercise under cover, and the gallery that was removed and set up elsewhere was probably for that purpose.

Mr. GIUSEPPI quoted as a parallel the gatchouse of Henry VII's palace at Richmond. In Mr. Ralph Nevill's paper in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vii, 214, attention had been called to the ingenuity of the vaulting on the newel staircase at Esher.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY saw no reason for calling the doorway opposite the gatchouse a water-gate for access to the Mole.

Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD said that galleries were a common feature of the period, and referred to another gatchouse near Waltham, which resembled the Holbein gate. He had been investigating with Mr. Emery Walker the Bacon family house at the corner of Oat Lane and Noble Street, where, along one side of the building, there was a walk below, measuring 88 ft. by 25 ft. by 40 ft., and a gallery above for exercise.

Mr. W. H. FOX thought the gallery was for playing bowls, as was evidently the case at Austin Friars.

Mr. FLOYER replied that the water probably came from the Mole direct. A building with walls originally 3 ft. thick would stand a good chance of surviving. With regard to the pronunciation of the place-name he quoted Shakespeare (*Henry VIII*, Act III, scene 2):

to confine yourself
To Asher-house, my Lord of Winchester's.

But the modern tendency was to pronounce according to the spelling. The gatchouse was built forty years before Holbein's arrival, and that kind of brick building had died out in the Middle Ages except in East Anglia. Its revival was shown at Tattershall, which was also characterized by a sunk hand-rail on the newel staircase. Wainfleet was one of Cromwell's executors and built the church there, also part of the Eton cloisters which had a diaper pattern. There were several gatchouses like Esher, but mostly in ruins, and the corbel-table was common to all of them. Many English generals spent years in France, and it was significant that the revival of brick-building succeeded the French wars.

The PRESIDENT thanked Mr. Floyer for reconstituting a medieval building from such scanty remains, and giving a picture of episcopal life in Tudor times. English architects had taken a step forward in architecture in the century preceding the adoption of brickwork in France; and he regarded Esher gatehouse as purely English work.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 5th FEBRUARY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

Sir William Watts, K.C.B., was admitted a Fellow.

R. GARRAWAY RICE, Esq., F.S.A., local secretary for Sussex, read the following report on an unusual palaeolithic implement and an unfinished neolith found at West Chiltington, exhibited on behalf of J. Howell Coles, Esq.

The two flint implements which I am able to exhibit by the courtesy of their owner, Mr. J. Howell Coles, were found upon his land at West Chiltington, near Pulborough, Sussex. Both are of more than ordinary interest, the more important being a palaeolith of exceptionally fine workmanship. That such an implement should have been found in West Sussex is noteworthy, for it is one that would have been prized whatever its provenance. Palaeolithic implements are but seldom found in this district; I discovered examples in the gravels of the river Arun, and published them in my Reports printed, with illustrations, in *Proceedings*, xx, 197, and xxiii, 371. Some of the Sussex specimens I then exhibited are figured in the *Victoria County History*. Mr. Coles's palaeolithic implement was found in the year 1916 on his land at Woodhill, West Chiltington, a short distance behind Woodhill House, by a ploughboy on a field after ploughing. The site is about 250 feet above Ordnance datum and forms a relatively high plateau. The implement (fig. 1) is made from light grey flint and approaches the triangular in form. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. at the lower edge, which I will term the cutting edge, and it is only seven-eighths of an inch

through at the thickest part. It is doubtless of the late Le Moustier period, and suggests a transition from the palaeolithic to neolithic form, the cutting edge being like that of a neolithic celt. A sharp edge runs right round the Woodhill implement, but at the pointed end it seems to have been clipped to form a rough left-handed drill. Such drill-like palaeolithic implements of this period are occasionally met with, as at Whipsnade near Caddington, mentioned in *Proceedings*, xxx, p. 48, and one with a central spur is figured in the *Grime's Graves Report*, p. 177, fig. 53. They also occur earlier, and I have in my own collection three of the Chelles period found in drift gravel at Yiewsley,

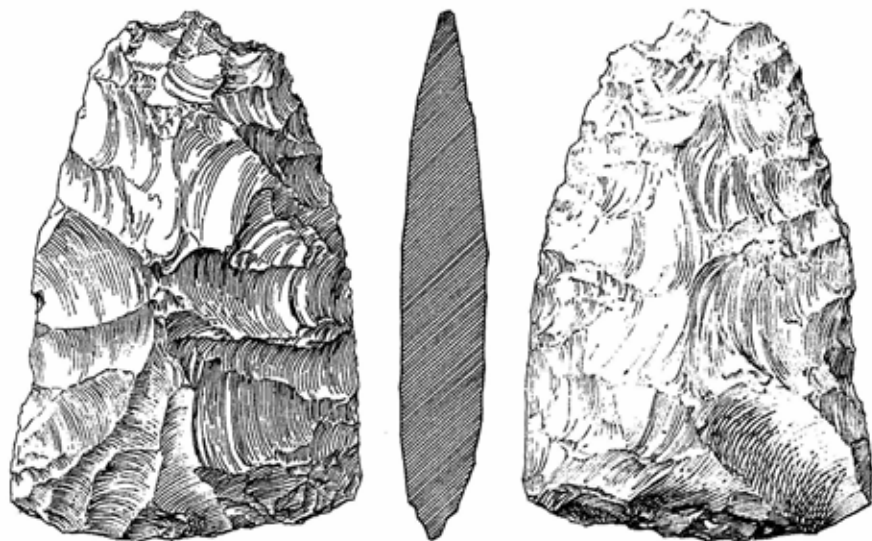


Fig. 1. PALAEOLOGIC IMPLEMENT FOUND AT WOODSHILL. ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Middlesex. One of these is similar at the point to the Woodshill example; of the other two, one has been formed to work to the right and the other to the left. The patination of the Woodshill implement is peculiar; on one side it is of a light ochreous yellow, which, as shown by a modern chip, extends but slightly into the flint. The other side is beautifully mottled in various shades from cream to dark ochre, and the implement may have come from a deposit of brick-earth rather than from drift gravel. Mr. Coles informed me that he did not know of any bed of gravel or brick-earth on his estate, or in the immediate neighbourhood, but he called my attention to the fact that there is a brick-field at North Heath, Pulborough, about one and a half miles west from Woodshill.

The neolithic celt was found on Mr. Coles's land in 1913, but the exact spot is not known. It is a rod-like implement belonging to the class known as 'Thames picks', but seems to be unfinished, the crust not having been removed to form the cutting edge. A small portion of crust also remains at the pointed end. The flint is of a dark chocolate colour, and devoid of patination, but it has a lustre similar to implements dredged from the Thames. This specimen measures 7 in. in length, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. at its widest part, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. through at its thickest.

The late Dr. P. J. Martin, of Pulborough, in a paper printed in 1857,¹ records the finding of four polished flint celts 'in making a new ditch in 1852, near Billingshurst', the next parish to West Chilton. He figures one of these celts, which some years ago passed into my hands.² It is made from a light brown flint; its dimensions (which Dr. Martin did not give) are $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. at the cutting edge, and $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. through at its thickest part.

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., for valuable suggestions on the subject-matter of this Report.

Mr. DALE was reminded by the principal exhibit of a specimen now in the British Museum, found 5-6 ft. down in the gravel-pit at Dunbridge, Hants. In his opinion the Thames pick was not unfinished, though all had a rough appearance: it had a serviceable point at one end.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH regarded the unfinished pick as a curiosity, and the other Sussex implement as a document of the highest importance. The record of its discovery was not complete, but he suspected that there was brick-earth on the farm and that the implement belonged to that deposit, as the points and edges were still quite sharp. Most collectors would pronounce the patina palaeolithic without hesitation, but there were few parallels at present in existence. By the kindness of Mr. Derek Richardson, who made the discovery last year at Grime's Graves, a bluish white implement with the same characteristics was exhibited alongside (fig. 2). Its narrow end was damaged and a large flake removed from the flat face; whereas the damage to the Sussex piece was in part recent, perhaps caused by the finder. The 'protocelt' seemed here to have turned into a celt, with broad cutting edge and symmetrical angles, as suggested in *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, 42, and it was important to fix the date, which in his opinion fell in the early Cave period. Mr. Garraway Rice had done a service by rescuing

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, ix, 116-18, fig. 2 on plate.

² This implement was exhibited.

the two specimens from oblivion, and thus increasing their chance of survival.

The PRESIDENT thought Mr. Rice could be trusted to look after the specimens he had reported on as local Secretary, and any others that might be found in the neighbourhood. A good deal was involved in the exhibit, which might contribute to a revolution in prehistory, but further research was necessary before any decided step could be taken. The Society was indebted to both exhibitors and to Mr. Howard Coles for the opportunity of seeing a novel type of implement.¹

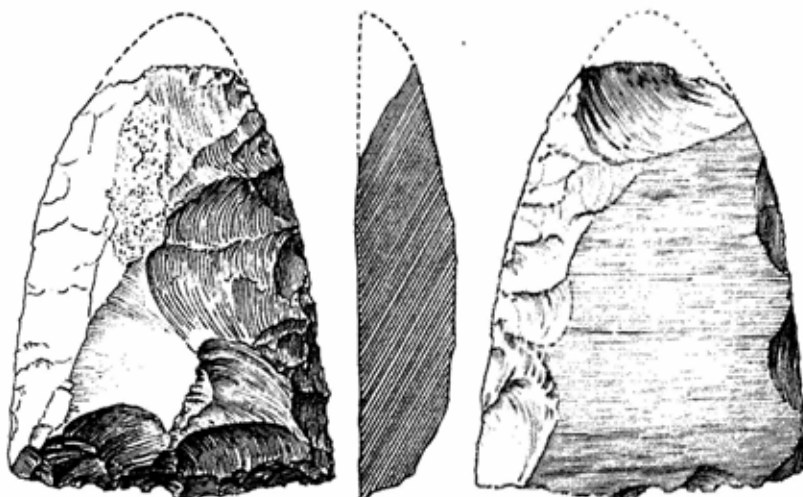


Fig. 2. FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM GRIME'S GRAVES. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Prof. S. LANGDON, M.A., read a paper on a Sumerian figure from Mesopotamia in the Ashmolean Museum, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The archaeology of Sumer had thus far been derived almost exclusively from ancient Sumerian cities in the extreme south of Mesopotamia. Mr. Langdon reviewed briefly the bas-reliefs and statuary of this region, particularly the collections from Lagash, Nippur, and Šuruppak, with a view to determining the dress and physiological characteristics of the Sumerians and the

¹ Since the two implements were returned to Mr. Coles, the more important one was accidentally dropped and badly broken. I undertook to repair it, and the result is fortunately more satisfactory than might have been expected.—R. G. R.

Semites. The statuettes found in the lower strata at Assur revealed a Sumerian period of occupation and culture before 3000 B.C. on the upper Tigris, and archaeological discoveries at Astrabad in Persian Turkestan indicated clearly an art and a dress very similar to the prehistoric Sumerian remains of Assur, and of Sumer itself. Philological and other cultural evidence was adduced for proving that the Sumerians, the founders of civilization in Western Asia, belonged to a widely-spread agglutinating race, of which the inhabitants of prehistoric Elam, Turkestan, and Egypt were, beside the Sumerians themselves, the best representatives. The marble statuette which was the subject of the paper was found by the 14th Sikh Regiment of the Indian Army, when they were entrenching themselves before the battle of Istabalat. This Arab village was on the right bank of the Tigris, eight miles below Samara. The importance of the discovery consisted chiefly in the region where it was found, for it formed a much needed link between southern Sumerian archaeology and the similar remains of the same period in Assyria and Turkestan. The bas-reliefs and statuettes of Elam of the same period proved a very close relation between the Sumerians and the prehistoric people of Anshan in dress, tonsure, and physiognomy. The writer defended the Sumerian derivation of the Greek word for fleecy mantle, *καυνάκης* from *gu-èn-na*, *gu-an-na*, probable name of the national Sumerian and Elamitic dress. The word was traced from early Sumerian times through the inscriptions of Babylon and Assyria to the period of Darius and Cambyses; and the passage by Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1131-56, on the Persian mantle, *καυνάκης*, was discussed. The problem of the relative age of Sumerian and Semitic civilization in Sumer and Akkad was defined and a solution attempted.

Sir ARTHUR EVANS was interested to find that a paper published by the Society in 1844 had been of signal service in recent investigations, in spite of imperfect illustrations. The Astrabad find was important from the chronological point of view as it included a spear-head with long tang of a type dated by an inscription mentioning a Sumerian king about 2900 B.C. That type of spear passed later into the Hittite area. Prof. Langdon had furnished interesting information with regard to a cylinder found in Crete and dating soon after 2000 B.C. It bore the figure of a goddess with flounced costume; and an ivory seal of about the same date showed that a garment like the alleged *καυνάκης* had reached the Aegean from the East by that date, but in his opinion it was confined to exceptional cases and religious usage.

Mr. H. R. HALL said that a fact that emerged from the paper was that the Sumerians spread further north than was usually supposed. Istabalat was not far from their recognized limit, and Assur only a stage beyond. Were it not for such connecting links the Astrabad finds might have been regarded as importations. Pumpelly had found in that district pottery of a type common round the head of the Persian Gulf, found by the French and other explorers, also at Abu Shahrain and Tell el-Obeid. How was that pottery related to Sumerian finds? The former was claimed as Elamite or Proto-elamite, whereas the statue was Sumerian. He had once suggested that the Sumerians came from India, and identified them with the Dravidians of the Deccan; but Prof. Langdon had shown resemblances between the Sumerians and the Armenoids of western Asia. The statue was certainly archaic but not the earliest instance of mother-of-pearl, as he had found at Tell el-Obeid that the use of that material went back to chalcolithic times when the Proto-elamites were in possession. In addition to the cylinder figure from Crete wearing a *καυνάκης*, his colleague Mr. Gadd had pointed out to him that a similar garment imitating sheep's wool was worn by the old farmer on the famous Harvester vase from Hagia Triada.

Prof. NEWBERRY questioned whether the statue held a boomerang, and suggested a shepherd's crook, such as was always carried by Osiris, and by Egyptian kings from the first dynasty.

Mr. CAMPBELL THOMPSON said his own pits at Eridu (Abu Shahrain) showed that the pottery in question, with geometrical ornament and not turned on the wheel, was the earliest on the site. It was due to an invasion from Elam (where it occurred at the lowest levels and was dated by de Morgan 6000-8000 B.C.), and spread both to Nineveh and the southern part of Mesopotamia, also west to Cappadocia and Anatolia. Sumerian pottery, quite plain and distinct from the geometric, occurred in the levels above; and he could not believe that the two human stocks were related, though they both came from the East. Prof. Elliot Smith held that a blend of Egyptian and Armenoid produced a bearded, not a glabrous, race; and bushy beards were characteristic of the Semite, though the Arab differed in that respect. The hands of the statue reminded him of the Mongolian habit of thrusting the hands into the sleeves; and a tight-fitting dress was not suitable for Mesopotamia, at least in summer.

Prof. LANGDON replied that the object in the hand of the statue was in any case a weapon, and was mentioned in inscriptions, but he had chosen the term boomerang owing to the appearance of the sign. The religious use of the *καυνάκης* was strictly Sumerian, and it was never used in Sumer in any other connexion. He had only heard that day from Mr. Hall that mother-of-pearl appeared at a still earlier date.

The PRESIDENT said the subject was unfamiliar to the Fellows, but elucidation of problems in the Near East might well throw light on matters nearer home. There was evidently a vast store of Proto-Elamite relics yet to be discovered in Mesopotamia, and he hoped that England would rise to the occasion.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 12th FEBRUARY 1920.

Lt.-Colonel GEORGE BABINGTON CROFT LYONS,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

James Hall Renton, Esq., and Sir William Ryland Dent Atkins, Knt., M.P., were admitted Fellows.

O. G. S. CRAWFORD, Esq., exhibited some Bronze Age and other antiquities on which he contributed the following notes:

1. Stone of eolithic type found on 11th April 1919, by the exhibitor, O. G. S. Crawford, on Ashmore Down, Wilts., in the parish of Donhead St. Mary, close to a Long Barrow.¹ The spot is to the south-west of Win Green, over 800 ft. above the sea-level, and commands what is perhaps the finest view in the whole of Wessex. The stone is water-worn and the edges are chipped in the usual eolithic fashion, but whether by nature or by man remains doubtful. The interest of it is rather geological than archaeological; stones of the same water-worn type have been found on the very highest points in Wessex—on Tan Hill (900 ft.), Sidbury Hill (730 ft.), between Tidcombe and Scots Poor (700 ft.) in Wilts.; on Walbury, Berks. (950 ft.), where there is a regular deposit; and indeed on the top of

¹ See *Wills. Arch. Mag.*, xxxviii, 1914, p. 389.

every high hill. The existence of these water-worn pebbles of flint has not hitherto been explained—or even seriously studied—by geologists. The deposit is quite distinct from the ‘angular gravel’ and clay-with-flints, and though sometimes consisting only of a few scattered pebbles, occasionally (as at Walbury, its highest recorded occurrence) forms a thin layer. The object exhibited is now in my possession.

2. Of similar interest is a stone found by me on a stone-heap near Sydmonton, Hants. In this case, however, there can be no doubt that the stone is an implement chipped into shape by human agency. The exact site of the stone-heap was on Isle Hill, Kingsclere, by the side of the road from Kingsclere to Sydmonton and Burghclere Station, close to spot-level 528 ft. above o. d. There can be no reasonable doubt that the stones of which the heaps were formed were collected off the adjacent fields. I satisfied myself at the time that all the stones were collected in this way and not quarried from a gravel-pit. This implement is 3 in. long and is of a reddish yellow patina. Parts of the original surface remain. It has been worked to a *cutting*—not *scraping*—edge by flaking directed upon one surface only. It probably belongs to the same series as those found on Hackpen Hill by the Rev. H. G. O. Kendall; although this specimen *seems* not to have been found above 500 ft. It is now in the Newbury Museum.

3. The implement here illustrated (fig. 1) was found by the exhibitor, O. G. S. Crawford, in the spring of 1919 on the road skirting Rockford Green, between Moyles Court and Linbrook, in the parish of Ellingham, Hants. It was lying on the road which had recently been mended. Mr. Heywood Sumner, who was with me at the time, tells me that the gravel used for mending the road here came from a pit on Rockford Common close by. This is the only gravel-pit from which it can possibly have come; it is exactly on the 200 ft. contour-line, on the brow of the valley-side; the Avon lies $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west, at about 65 ft. above o. d. The broad expanse of valley-gravel between the Avon and the east slopes of the valley is here about 80 ft. above o. d. The object is in my possession.

4. This implement was found in the celebrated gravel-pit at Knowle, on the edge of Savernake Forest, Wilts., and in the parish of Little Bedwyn. The peculiar creamy colour is due not to patination but to the colour of the flint from which it is made. There can be no doubt as to the site of discovery. I bought it myself from the workmen at the pit. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and 2 in. thick, and is in the Newbury Museum.

The Knowle gravel-pit is now no longer being worked. The gravel became too full of clay to make good road-material. It

has been superseded by workings on the south side of the Bath Road, at the bottom of the main valley, west-north-west of the old pit.

Recently flints with the same glassy patination as some of those at Knowle have been found in Collingbourne Wood, in a curious deposit of sand, thereby confirming the sufficiently obvious explanation that the polish was caused by wind-blown sand.

5. Mousterian implement found in 1915 in a communication trench at Thiépvál. I found this fine implement myself *in situ*.



Fig. 1. PALAEO-LITHIC HAND-AXE FOUND NEAR MOYLES COURT, HANTS. (3)

It was sticking out of the side of a trench, about a couple of feet or more below the surface. It is a large flake of bluish flint $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long with white streaks. The deposit in which it was found was gravel, a rare occurrence in these lands of loess. I showed it to M. Commont at Amiens later on, and he told me that numbers of similar implements had been found in the same district. It is in the Newbury Museum.

6. Flint implement of Acheulian type found on a stone-heap at Brimpton (fig. 2). The history of this implement is as follows: It was brought to Mr. Harold Peake, local secretary for Berks., at the Newbury Museum, by a boy from the Newbury Grammar School. Mr. Peake sent him back to discover from what gravel-pit the stone-heaps in which he found it were derived, and he reported that it was a gravel-pit near Brimpton Church. There can be no doubt that this is the pit between Holdaway's Farm

and the church, between a footpath and the parish boundary, which runs along the Brimpton-Crookham road.¹ There is a minor trigonometrical station here giving the height of the gravel-pit as 322 ft. above o. d.

The gravel is what is called on the geological map a plateau deposit; it forms the capping of the long flat-topped ridge dividing the Kennet valley on the north from the Enborne valley running parallel to it on the south. The Kennet is $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile due north of the gravel-pit and is 200 ft. above o. d.

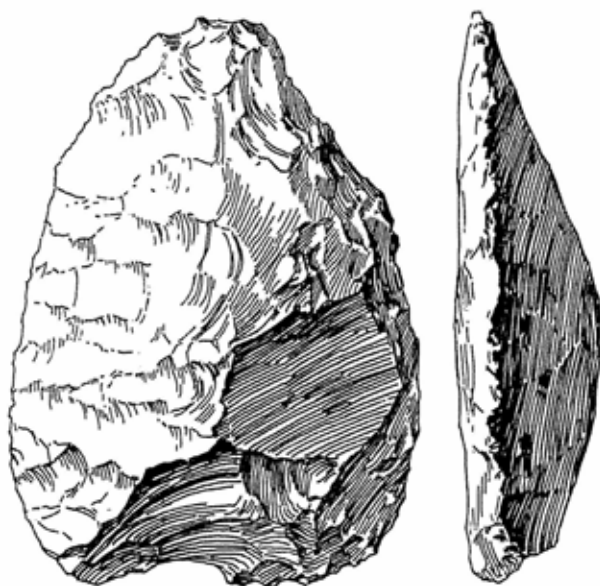


Fig. 2. PALAEO-LITHIC AXE FOUND AT BRIMPTON, BERKS. ($\frac{3}{8}$)

The Enborne is about $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile distant on the south and runs at about 210 ft. above o. d. There can be little doubt that this flat-topped ridge of Greenham and Crookham Commons, sloping gently from 400 ft. on the west to 300 ft. at Brimpton, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east, is the torrent-bed of the old Enborne-Kennet river. In flood-time the river would perhaps cover most of the bed; at other times it would meander along the sides of the valley, unable to cope with the piles of gravel in the centre. That is the normal behaviour of rivers like the Po and the Iser to-day, which are swollen to enormous proportions by the melting of

¹ O. S. 6-in. map, Berks., xliii, NE., ed. 1900.

Alpine snows. Eventually the flood-régime passed away, and the rivers separated finally into distinct channels.

Neolithic.—7. Four flint implements from Cranbourne Chase.

(a) A long axe-shaped object, perhaps an unfinished chipped celt, found in field west of Abbeycroft Coppice, April 12, 1919.

(b) A small scraper from the same site.

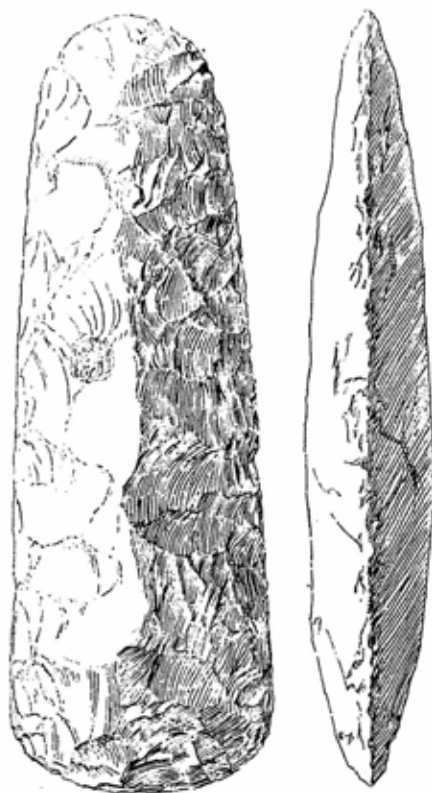


Fig. 3. FLINT AXE FOUND NEAR NEWBURY, BERKS. (3)

(c) A well-made oval scraper of buff-coloured flint with white patina from a field west of Tollard Green, April 10, 1919.

(d) Half of a long flake from the same site as (c).

All found and exhibited by O. G. S. Crawford, in whose possession they are.

8. Flint axe, finely chipped, found on the side of a gully 200 yards north-west of the Falkland Memorial at the cross-

roads on the main road from Newbury to Andover in Newbury parish (fig. 3). This axe was found near the house of Mr. Bazett, of Newbury, and is now in the Newbury Museum. The exact site has been marked on the 6-in. map.¹ A polished flint axe was found on the site of a house in the lane past the post office, about 1,000 ft. to the south-west of the spot where the axe here illustrated was found, but it unfortunately got into private hands.

9. Leaf-shaped knife or arrow-head found at Woodcote Park, Epsom, by the exhibitor, Mr. J. F. Matheson, (of the Priory, Elstree), in digging potatoes (fig. 4). This is the Long Barrow type of arrow-head, and may safely be regarded as belonging to the neolithic period.

10. Triangular arrow-head found in 1919 near Farleigh Clump, parish of Monkton Farleigh, near Bath, by O. G. S. Crawford. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $\frac{3}{8}$ in. broad at the base, which is slightly concave. One face is flat and unchipped, as in implements of the Mousterian type; the other is curved. The patina is white, and there are rust-spots on the curved face.

11. Three fragments of neolithic pottery found with others on the undisturbed old surface under a Long Barrow on Wexcombe Down, four miles south-east of Savernake Station, G.W.R., Wilts. These potsherds were found during excavations made in August, 1914, by Dr. E. A. Hooton, of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, and myself. A full account will be published shortly. Meanwhile it should be stated that there can be no doubt that these potsherds are contemporary with, or earlier than, the Long Barrow under which they were found. They were scattered over an area of between 2 and 3 square metres, and occurred only at a distance of between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 metres north of the southern end of the mound. They were between 1 ft. 3 in. and 1 ft. 9 in. below the surface, and were all at the same level on the old surface, which, here and elsewhere beneath the barrow, was most distinct, consisting of a band of black soil. Had there been any disturbance, the potsherds would not have thus occurred only at one level. That would be equally impossible were they the remains of a broken urn from a secondary interment. It was quite clear, however, that there had been no disturbance of the soil, which, being chalk, makes such inferences easy and reliable.

One of the fragments is part of a rim (fig. 5). It is quite straight and the tip has been slightly flattened by vertical pressure with a polished bone or pebble or some such implement. This smoothing of the edge is characteristic apparently of this type of neolithic pottery; it occurs on some fragments from the

¹ Berks., xlii, NE.

Lanhill Barrow (now in the Devizes Museum), and on some of the specimens from Long Barrows in the British Museum. The ware is hard and reddish in colour, of a sandy texture, mixed with fragments (sometimes very large) of flint grit. The original vessel of which these fragments were part must have been a large one; the curvature of the rim is so slight as to be almost imperceptible. One fragment, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick, is black on the inside, the blackness extending $\frac{1}{2}$ in. towards the outer surface, the remainder being brick red. The potsherds are remarkable for their excellent quality and compare very favourably with the Bronze Age, Romano-British, and Medieval specimens beside them on the table.



Fig. 4. LEAF-SHAPED ARROW-HEAD
FOUND AT WOODCOTE PARK ($\frac{1}{2}$).

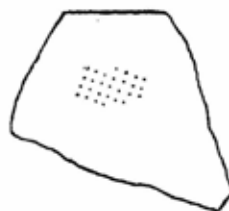


Fig. 5. RIM-PIECE OF NEOLITHIC
POTTERY FOUND UNDER A LONG
BARROW AT WEXCOMBE, WILTS.

Bronze Age.—12. Bronze knife-dagger and fragment of the rim of an urn found in a barrow at Penton Mewsey, near Andover, which was demolished in making the aerodrome at Weyhill in September, 1917. A full account of these exhibits by Dr. Williams-Freeman is published in the *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, viii, 354-6 and pl. opp. p. 354.

13. Palstave, $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, width of edge $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., dredged from the Wey near Weybridge, and exhibited by the owner, Mr. G. Simmons, of Addlestone. It weighs $15\frac{1}{2}$ oz. av. It is an early type; the side-view of the flanges is regular and their line is not broken at the stop-ridge. The thickness of the face is the same immediately above and below the stop-ridge. It is in good preservation, the patina being dull gold on one face and gold and brownish-black on the other. On one face the stop-ridge is almost non-existent.

14. Palstave, 5 in. long, width of edge $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., bought at

Colchester in a dealer's shop, and now exhibited by the owner, Mr. G. Simmons. The site of discovery is not known, but it appears from the patina to have been found in water or mud. Weight, $10\frac{1}{2}$ oz. It is slightly later in type than no. 13. There is a slight break in the line of the flanges, as seen in side-view, and the thickness of the septum is greater below than above the stop-ridge. A raised mid-rib is faintly discernible on each face. Neither this nor no. 13 has loops.

15. Palstave found in a field on the farm of Mr. R. Herriott, the exhibitor, at Upper Vernham Row, Vernham's Dean, Hants. The top of the butt is broken off. The present length is $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., width of edge $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., weight 14 oz. av. This is a peculiarly interesting specimen, as it appears to have been cast in the same mould as those (seven) in the Leopold Street (Oxford) hoard and the one in the Burgesses' meadow hoard.¹ There is the same protuberance on the side, where the loop would be if there was one: and in other respects the specimen now exhibited is identical with them. The three vertical ridges have been hammered after casting, the middle one being very prominent and well preserved. The sides and faces have also been hammered. The palstave is well preserved and has a bright, dusty green patina alternating with a burnished brown one. The edge is very blunt (4 mm. wide) and shows no signs of use. The fracture of the butt is clearly due to a row of six air-bubbles visible across the broken end. The break is ancient.

16. Palstave found in the same field as the foregoing and exhibited by the owner, Mr. R. Herriott. Length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., width of edge $2\frac{5}{8}$ in., weight $12\frac{1}{4}$ oz. av. This specimen was found independently of the foregoing, to which it has a superficial resemblance. It is, however, a lighter and better made implement, and is looped. It is narrow at the middle; the middle rib has not been hammered and rises to a sharp edge. On one side of the stop-ridge is a deep hole, now partially filled with oxidation. From the silvery patina (alternating with dusty green) it would appear to contain a large percentage of tin.

17. Palstave, site of discovery unknown, now preserved in the small collection in Mere Church, Wilts. Exhibited by the Rev. J. S. Trotman, vicar of Mere. This specimen is very imperfect and weighs $13\frac{3}{4}$ oz. av. Half of the butt has been broken off longitudinally, *after* discovery. Even so it weighs an ounce and a half more than no. 16. It has been filed all over by the discoverer or some one into whose hands it came at some time, but the surface has again become dull. That is not surprising,

¹ These are all in the Ashmolean Museum with the exception of one which is in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans. See *Proceedings*, xxviii, pp. 147 *seqq.*

as it must have been found a hundred years ago or more. Mr. Trotman informs me that it was 'found by Mr. Philip Crocker, agent to Sir R. Colt Hoare, probably on the Wiltshire downs', and that it was given to the Museum by the late Mr. Ernest Baker. Perhaps a reference to Sir R. C. Hoare's correspondence or notes might throw light on the site of its discovery.

18. Lower half of a socketed celt, width of edge $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., weight 4 oz. av. Found in a cottage garden at Smannell, a small hamlet in Andover parish, Hants, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles north-east of Andover. The celt appears to have been intentionally broken in ancient times by a blow. Now in the Newbury Museum.

19. Socketed celt found at or near Weston-sub-Edge, near Broadway, on the Gloucestershire-Worcestershire boundary. Exhibited by the owner, Mr. Andrews, of Weston. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., width of edge 2 in., weight $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz. av. The socket is slightly elliptical; the face and sides are fluted; the edge nearly straight. A specimen not unlike this from Garsington, Oxon., is in the Reading Museum. This specimen is said to have been found in a field called 'The Lenches', where many Roman remains have been found. I suspect, however, that this may be incorrect. When a prolific Roman site, such as 'The Lenches' is, exists in a neighbourhood, there is always a tendency to attribute indiscriminately all finds of whatever period to such a site. The finders consider that an ancient object is more likely to be accepted as genuine if its provenance is thus attested, all 'antiquities' being regarded in the same perspective as coeval. It is the same motive which prompts the British workman to report a stone axe or even an iron sword as having been found 'twenty feet deep in undisturbed gravel'.

20. Bronze two-bladed knife or razor, found in a barrow at Inkpen, Berks. This was found by me in one of the first barrows I opened, about the year 1907. A full account will be published shortly.

La Tène period.—21. Part of copper basin¹, found in the main street of Christchurch, Hants, opposite the shop of Mr. Hope, dealer in antiquities, from whom I bought it. This was found in laying drains along the street. It was much crumpled when discovered, but was repaired at the British Museum through the good offices of Mr. R. A. Smith. It consisted originally of two or more separate parts, of which only the lowest remains. It was riveted to the upper portion and the rivets still remain. It is now in the Newbury Museum.

22. Beach-pebble of greenstone used as a hammer: found by O. G. S. Crawford on Constantine island, near Harlyn Bay,

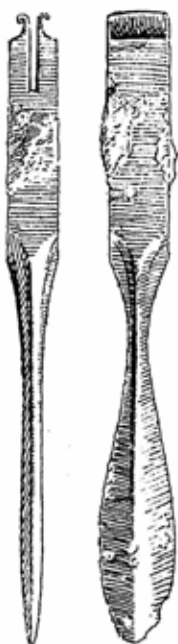
¹ See *Proceedings*, xxi, 319 seqq.



North Cornwall, in 1917. There are two cavities on each side, and one end has been reduced to a concave surface by hammering on a rounded surface, probably of another boulder. It is not unlikely that it was used for pounding limpet shells to mix with clay for making pots.

Romano-British period.—23. Potsherds found on Cold Kitchen Hill, parish of Brixton Deverill, Wilts. This is a celebrated site of a quite exceptional character. The abundance of really fine antiquities which have been found here quite casually is most remarkable.¹ The object with which these specimens were exhibited was to point out the presence in the potsherds of fragments of oyster-shell. These occur whole on the site, and two examples were exhibited. The site is an extremely bleak and desolate one, about 800 ft. above the sea, and on an isolated 'hog-back'. Whether the inhabitants imported oysters for eating or merely bought up the old shells for pounding and mixing with their pottery is uncertain. One would suspect the latter at such a site, but there are no *a priori* reasons why fresh oysters should not have got here. They got to sites further inland than this elsewhere in England, and it is only thirty-three miles to the Bristol Channel. Moreover, judging by the contents of their rubbish heap, the inhabitants must have been well-to-do.

Fig. 6. ROMAN SURGICAL INSTRUMENT FOUND NEAR WESTON-SUB-EDGE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



24. Roman surgical instrument made of bronze (fig. 6). It is probably the handle of an iron knife, remains of rust being visible at the cleft end. It was found near Weston-sub-Edge, Gloucestershire, in a field called 'The Lenches', where numerous other Roman finds have been made. Examples are to be seen in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.²

Merovingian period (France).—25. Bronze brooch, found in a trench between Ericourt and Bray, France. I found this brooch myself in 1915, while I was going along a little-used communication-trench over a hill. The trench was some distance behind the line, out of rifle-fire. It was in a pit in the chalk, full

¹ See *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, June 1894.

² See *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, by J. S. Milne, Oxford, 1907, Plates I-III.

of black earth and potsherds, some of which were exhibited. It had an iron pin. It is now in the Newbury Museum.

Medieval period.—26. Fragments of the bottom of a vessel of gritty red-and-black ware, found by the exhibitor, O. G. S. Crawford, in the side of the cliff at the extreme eastern end of the Isle of Purbeck, parish of Studland, Dorset. These were found on the open down between a small and ancient copse and the Old Harry Rocks, on the northward-facing cliff. The ground here is covered with ancient banks, and there has evidently been an ancient settlement at some time. The vessel in question belongs to the convex-bottomed series, which is very difficult to date accurately.

Mr. DALE was glad to find that Mr. Crawford's enthusiasm was not impaired by his imprisonment in Germany. No undoubted palaeolith had to his knowledge been found in the plateau gravels, which geologists were still discussing. The white specimen exhibited from Knowle was quite different from the ordinary Knowle palaeoliths.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH drew attention to a remarkable colith in the Stopes collection at Cardiff that should be seen by all who passed judgement on that class of implements. Mr. Kendall had found coliths in gravel on high ground in Wilts.,¹ but geologists had not yet explained the presence of such gravel on the hill-tops. The Moyles Court palaeolith might be compared with Prestwich's specimen from Downton (now in the Natural History Museum), as both seemed to have come from the plateau rather than from a terrace of the Avon; and the specimen from high ground between the Enborne and Kennet valleys might prove important in that connexion. The carefully chipped celt with thin butt and pointed oval section would (at least in Scandinavia) be assigned to the Dolmen Period, about 3000 B.C. The sherds found on the original surface below the margin of a long barrow, where a secondary interment was not impossible, were unlike most of the neolithic ware in England, and it was difficult to imagine the original form of this vessel; but if parallels existed, it would help to establish another type dating from an obscure period. The bronze dagger, which preserved traces of the overlapping handle on both faces, was unusually heavy, and was unexpected in association with a cinerary urn: the other fragment from the site seemed to belong to the globular type found in Berks. and Dorset. One of the celts illustrated the genesis of the palstave, having deep wings and a slight stopridge; and the socketed specimen faceted below the mouth was

¹ *Proceedings*, xxviii, 33.

usually considered a rare form. Razors of the Bronze Age were comparatively rare in England, but water-clocks were increasing in number, and if the present fragment were included in that class, there must have been a high incurved neck above the row of rivets. It had been, like most of the recognized examples, found near a plentiful supply of water. He could not believe that the two cavities near one end of the cylindrical greenstone were for the insertion of the fingers in use; nor did all such specimens appear to be unfinished axe-hammers. The Romans were fond of oysters and had them conveyed far inland, not only for pounding up to make pottery refractory. The broken bronze was generally regarded as a Roman surgical instrument, and other examples were extant. Medieval pottery was still a problem that might be attacked by some Fellow of the Society: specimens were hardly ever preserved with coins or other datable objects found in association.

Mr. GARREWAY RICE thought that while good coliths might carry conviction, it was advisable to withdraw the rest. He drew attention to the will of Elizabeth Tucker of Exeter, dated 17th July 1789,¹ which contained the bequest of 'an ancient British weapon called a celt'—an early use of the word.

Mr. LELAND DUNCAN had seen Mr. Stopes's collection thirty years ago at Southfleet, where visitors were invited to indicate, in the series exhibited, where natural chipping ended and human work began.

Mr. CRAWFORD replied that the excavation of the long barrow had not yet been properly recorded, but he was convinced that the potsherds were lying on the surface when the barrow was raised, and were therefore of the same date as the barrow or earlier. Any disturbance of the chalk would have been at once apparent. He had about twenty more fragments and all lay scattered on the old surface, which was marked by a black line below the heaped chalk.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

¹ Proved 8th March 1793 (Register 'Dodwell', fol. 173).

THURSDAY, 19th FEBRUARY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 4th March, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

The PRESIDENT reminded the meeting that, under the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, the Fellowship of the Society was open to women, and that it was therefore competent for Fellows to nominate women as candidates for election into the Society.

The Reverend F. H. HODGSON, M.A., exhibited a mediæval silver chalice and paten, dated 1494, belonging to Clifford Chambers Church, Gloucestershire. An illustration and full description of the chalice and paten will be found in *Proceedings*, xii, 102.

The PRESIDENT said the exhibit was welcome, as the last occasion on which the Fellows had seen it was in 1888. Both chalice and paten were unusually fine and of exceptionally early date, the bowl recalling the hemispherical form of the thirteenth century: the sides became straighter later. The 'crescents' he regarded rather as architectural features, of the crocket order. That form of the bowl, knop and base continued for about fifty years both in England and abroad, especially in the Netherlands and northern France, with local modifications. He was glad to see that no merciless cleaning of the surface had been allowed.

REGINALD A. SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., read the following note on two bronze bracelets belonging to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and exhibited by George Penrose, Esq., Local Secretary for Cornwall:

In a series recently submitted to the British Museum by our Local Secretary for Cornwall, Mr. George Penrose, two specimens seemed worthy of fuller treatment, not only on account of their excellent workmanship but also for their novel character. They belong to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and are exhibited to-night by the courtesy of Mr. Penrose, the Curator of the County Museum at Truro.

Unfortunately no record can be traced of the circumstances in which they were found, but as they almost constitute a pair of

bracelets, it is not impossible that they originally belonged together, and later got into different hands. Both were included in the Society's Exhibition of Bronzes in 1873, but there is little to be gleaned from the references in *Proceedings*, v, 406 and 430, 390 and 422; and the illustration on p. 406, repeated in Sir John Evans's *Bronze Implements*, fig. 479, is surprisingly inadequate, and perhaps accounts for the obscurity in which the specimens have remained ever since. One was then in the possession of

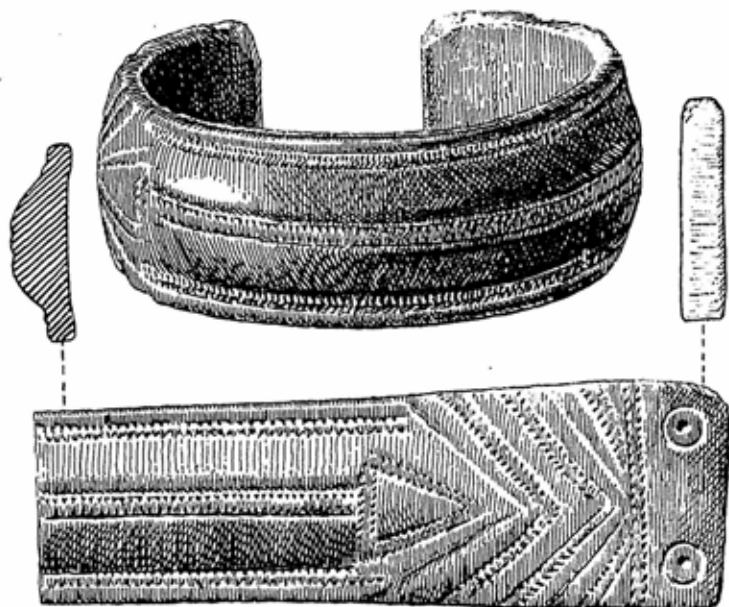


Fig. 1. BRONZE BRACELET FROM CORNWALL ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Mr. John Jope Rogers, the other was already the property of the Royal Institution.

The better preserved of the two is here illustrated (fig. 1), and below the general view is given a half-development to show the ornamentation outside the terminals: a section through the middle is added on the left, and the end view on the right. This specimen weighs just over $6\frac{1}{2}$ oz. av., and the other $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz. av.; and the metal is solid enough to render their removal from the wrist no easy matter. They were no doubt worn for years together, and perhaps represented the wedding-ring of to-day. The better one has a space between the terminals of 0.9 in., the long axis measuring 2.3 in. inside, and the entire girth 7.3 in.

The band has a minimum breadth of 1 in. and is 1.1 in. wide at each terminal. The dimensions of the other are similar, but it has been opened for a space of 1.3 in. and the longer axis inside is in consequence 2.7 in. The central and flanking lines of the moulding as well as the fan-like lines at the ends were produced by casting, but these lines were afterwards worked over with a graving tool,¹ which produced single or double rows of triangular indentations. Though the detail is not perfect, the casting is on fine broad lines, and the dark green patina of both is a pleasing feature. The broad swelling rib is not unlike that seen on certain Bronze Age weapons, and the tooling of the contours also occurs, for example, on spear-heads in the British Museum from Taplow, the Thames at Battersea (*Archæologia*, lxi, pl. 66, fig. 38), and Brigmerston Down, Wilts. But the spreading angular lines at either end are difficult to match, and the ring-and-dot pattern is rather surprising, though it appears in relief (not sunk as on these bracelets) on many socketed celts of the later Bronze Age in Britain. As an ornamental motive it is specially characteristic of the Hallstatt (earliest Iron) Period. But that period is barely represented in this country, and the Hallstatt bracelets, armlets, and anklets are quite distinctive and totally unlike the Cornish pair.

The only parallel in this country seems to be one of two bronze penannular armlets found in 1839 with portions of a human skeleton 3 ft. deep at Stoke Prior, Worcestershire. The smaller one is quite plain and of greater breadth than the other, which has been published more than once² and is now in the national collection. The extremities are dilated and thinner than the hoop, with six indistinct punctures in two rows on the outer face of each terminal.

Bracelets and armlets in western Europe fall into well-defined classes, one of which has a distant resemblance to the Cornish pair, but has a more triangular section, a different style of ornament, and a uniform breadth. The examination of several albums has resulted in the discovery of a single parallel, curiously alike in several details but still easily recognized as an alien product. It has been published from time to time³ and was found with two others, a spiral armlet and hanging bronze bowl at Bredsgård, Ravnstrup, Viborg, Jutland. Professor Montelius assigns it to

¹ Experiments in Denmark have shown that a steel or even an iron tool is not required for this purpose (Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 188).

² Allies, *Antiqs. of Worcs.*, 2nd ed., p. 111; *Arch. Journ.*, xx, 200; Evans, *Bronze*, fig. 476.

³ S. Müller, *Ordning af Danmarks Oldsager*, fig. 377; *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1876, 214, fig. 32; Montelius, *Tidsbestämming inom Bronsåldern*, pl. iv, fig. 85.

the eleventh century B.C., and two others show that it had a local origin and development (*Ordnung*, figs. 375, 376). It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. across, relatively deep, and thickest along the middle line, the contours of the mouldings being finished with a tool producing triangular marks, and the terminals bearing the ring-and-dot pattern, as well as halved concentric rings or multiple arches.

With its mineral resources Cornwall might have been expected to produce bronzes in greater quantity, but even its propinquity to Ireland and Brittany should not, apart from other evidence, suggest anything but local manufacture; and there seems to be nothing similar either in France or the British Isles except the degenerate specimen from Worcestershire. Maritime intercourse with Scandinavia was doubtless in full swing three thousand years ago and more; but further evidence is required before the Cornish bronzes can be used to elucidate foreign relations about the time when cremation was spreading all over western and northern Europe. The best way to obtain such evidence is to publish the bracelets more adequately than hitherto, and await developments.

Mr. H. D. ACLAND said that one of the bracelets had been inherited by his father-in-law at Penrose; and it might be possible to find among the papers of Mr. John Jope Rogers or in the books of Mr. Rogers's friend, Dr. Borlase, some account of the discovery. He thought there were several objects of archaeological interest scattered about in the old country houses of Cornwall, and would do his best to bring them to light. There was much to be done in the county, as the highway authorities did not scruple to break up the megalithic monuments.

Mr. QUARRELL had recently searched *Naenia Cornubiae* without success.

Mr. H. R. HALL could not recollect anything of the sort in Egypt or the eastern Mediterranean.

The PRESIDENT's first dealings with the Society had been at the Bronze Exhibition in 1873 at Somerset House, and he thought it was well to exhibit such specimens once in each generation. There was at the present time less readiness than formerly to call anything strange a foreign production, and he was content to regard the bracelets as of home manufacture. Though Cornwall was often connected with the Phoenicians, there seemed to be no parallel in the Levant. It was unfortunately the case that road surveyors had the right to take the nearest material for repairing the roads. Thanks were due to

the author, and to the Royal Institution of Cornwall for allowing Mr. Penrose to exhibit the bronzes.

SOMERS CLARKE, Esq., F.S.A., communicated the following paper on the excavations at Fostât :

It will, I believe, interest many members of the Society of Antiquaries to receive some information relative to the excavations that are now being carried on at Fostât, and the valuable discoveries that are being made, not only as regards the ancient city itself but as regards the arts which were therein practised with such great success.

As all visitors to Cairo know, the remains of Fostât lie to the south of the Cairo of to-day and cover a large area of ground lying east of what is now called Old Cairo. The prominent feature of Old Cairo is formed by the remains of the great Roman fortress, the Kasr esh Sham'a. Being a Roman building the Kasr esh Sham'a is of much higher antiquity than the foundation of Fostât. The only building which formed an important object appurtenant to Fostât itself, and which still remains to us, is the Mosque of Amr, built on the site of the tent of Amr ibn el As, who captured Egypt in A. D. 641. Round about this mosque arose the city of Fostât.

After some time a new town was built to the north of Fostât. This was known as El-Askar, and much material from Fostât was used over again in building it. Then followed the building of yet a third town known as El Katai. Adjoining and to the north of this comes the fourth town, which is the mother of what we now know as Cairo.

It is necessary to give the above very imperfect account of the growth of this series of towns extending through fully 300 years, as, without it, we hardly realize that the successive towns were not built one over the other, a thing so commonly the case, but that each stood on a new site and derived much of its materials from the plundering of the older buildings which lay adjoining to the south. These older sites can never have been entirely abandoned, but were out of fashion, were neglected, ruined and abandoned, chiefly to the labourer and the craftsman. Hence it is, no doubt, that we find remains of the potter's craft and of his kilns dating from far back, and we still see the kilns of to-day smoking around the mosque of Amr.

It seems not a little curious that hardly any recognizable remains of mosques have been found, but what is more probable than that the materials of these buildings were amongst the first to be transferred to the new sites?

As the newer towns were built towards the north the usual custom of throwing the rubbish outside the walls was followed,

and as Fostât was, except near the river-side, as before stated, nearly abandoned, so the mounds of dry rubbish accumulated over the remains, and to so considerable a depth that the fine masonry walls with which Saladin had taken in hand to surround it and join it to the walls of the citadel were completely covered, and have but just now been revealed.

It was well known that within the mounds of débris with which the site of Fostât was covered there were found many specimens of glazed pottery of great beauty. The learned informed us that these were not made in Egypt: that they were importations; indeed many fragments bore no little resemblance to the type known as Hispano-Moresque.

For some reason, or want of reason, the rubbish mounds were not subjected to any scientific investigation, although as far back as 1835, when the ancient monuments of Egypt were first appreciated as containing historic objects, these mounds were placed under the charge of the 'Service des Antiquités'. This state of things lasted until 1892. In 1892 the rubbish mounds were transferred to the care of the 'Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes', and remained under its care until the year 1906. This Comité was, however, so lax in its interests that it shifted the burden once more to the 'Service des Antiquités' before-mentioned. Nothing worth doing was carried out by either 'Service'. Happily the present director of the Museum of Arab Art, Ali Bey Bahgat, now came upon the scene. In 1911 he made a few investigations and, seeing its value, he asked that the site of Fostât with its masses of rubbish mounds be placed under the care of the before-named 'Comité de Conservation'. The change of guardianship was made in 1912, a happy thing for the archaeological and artistic world. Since that time the labours of Ali Bey Bahgat have been unceasing. The Museum of Arab Art has been enriched by beautiful specimens of the indigenous arts of Egypt, and that this is so is proved by the finding of kilns and wasters, by lumps of various glazes, etc., etc. In addition to this, a scientific investigation has laid bare a considerable area of the town of Fostât, with the lines of its streets, the plans of its houses, the arrangements of the drains, the water supply, etc., etc.

Fostât having been built on a soil of rock, house plans cannot be traced by trenches to receive the foundations; such preparations were not needed. The materials used having been for the most part of burnt brick and timber, the site was plundered for the bricks when the new towns were built north of it. But little of the timber can have survived the prodigious fire under the last Fatimide Caliph Adid (A. D. 1160-71). Fostât was utterly burnt down (the fire lasting fifty-four days) in order to prevent its being occupied by Amalric, king of Jerusalem.

Whilst in ancient Egypt the temples were built of stone and with great solidity, the domestic buildings were flimsy structures made of unburnt brick largely assisted by timber. Such buildings as remain to us of the period terminating with the Arab conquest, even the churches, are of very poor and timid construction, whether of stone or brick; timber was freely used in the walls. This flimsy method continues until modern times. It may be observed that all the pre-European parts of Cairo are markedly fragile in construction although the houses are, many of them, four stories high, as, according to Makrizi, were those of Fostât. Such buildings are easy to plunder for their materials, or when neglected they are quickly resolved, in the dry climate of Egypt, into a mound of dusty rubbish.

It is consequently very obvious that but few remains of house plans, fairly complete, still exist at Fostât, and those which we can trace are of the greater value.

Attention must here be called to a very interesting circumstance, the fact that the house plans we are now considering are not like those of Musulman houses, of which there are many in Cairo.

There are certain points in the Cairo houses, and I believe in most Musulman houses, of great importance, suiting the habits of those for whom they were built. One is that the greatest privacy shall be maintained; consequently we rarely find windows pierced through the outer walls at the ground level. Another is that a direct entrance from the street shall be avoided. The visitor, entering by the door on the street, finds himself in a room more or less square with a dead wall directly in front of him. The side wall of this room, left or right, is pierced by a second door. This gives upon the interior yard. In result it is hardly possible to see into the courtyard of the house until the visitor is well within the entrance hall, if even then. But at Fostât, judging by the plans revealed, none of these precautions is taken. The courtyard is treated more as a room of the house, part open to the sky, part covered and recessed. At the entrance door it seems that the visitor could see straight into the yard. There is also a second court-yard and this seems to have been well protected from public gaze. The plan calls to mind that of a Greek house in several of the particulars.

We look forward with great interest to studying the plans of two more houses which Ali Bey informs me are now being rescued from their long oblivion. I hope before long to secure copies of the four house plans and to submit them, with a few descriptive remarks, as a paper to be read before the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, and to add a plan of Fostât, as far as it has now been excavated.

We now find ourselves in face of an unhappy state of things. Cairo has not a municipality, it is placed in charge of the Tanzim, which is a department of the Ministry of Public Works. The Ministry of Public Works covers a very large area. Its primary duties are the irrigation of Egypt, than which nothing can be of greater importance. Consequently an engineer well equipped in the mysteries of irrigation is very properly selected as its chief. The Tanzim has relation chiefly to the streets and general superintendence of Cairo, the building laws (such as they are), the maintenance of existing streets, the laying out of new ones, the lines of frontage, etc. In the Ministry we also find the construction, the laying out, and the maintenance of the system of drainage, a big and difficult thing. In the budget of the Ministry is included a grant for the building, the maintenance, and the staff of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities with its museum and staff.

Egypt and Italy are alike in the fact that their works of art and antiquities play a far more important part in their revenue than they do in other countries. These two countries draw an important revenue from the monuments they contain, in consequence of the great number of visitors these attract, visitors who pay, for the most part, ready money. The monuments of Egypt are in fact an exceedingly valuable asset.

In Cairo itself the standing monuments are of Saracenic art, in other parts of the country they are almost exclusively of much higher antiquity. The Saracenic monuments, situated as they are within the confines of the city, fall within the purview of the Tanzim. Here we find ourselves in a serious difficulty. According to the fancy of the Director of the Tanzim these monuments may be treated with the consideration their beauty and antiquity demand; they may be neglected; they may be voted a nuisance as standing in the way of street 'improvement' and pulled down, or may be so taken care of that, surrounded by little cockney gardens, bushes and scarlet geraniums, they appear merely as excrescences in the midst of unsympathetic surroundings. The present Director of the Tanzim is a very zealous and hard-working man, but being by no means versed in the study of ancient monuments, and having no sympathy with them, the more zealous he is the more dangerous he becomes. A good straight street going slap through everything is the realization of his ambition. The buildings themselves are, happily, not in the charge of the Tanzim. They are in the care of the 'Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe'. This Comité has its own architect and his staff. Often their hands are over-full, but the venerable and beautiful buildings of which they have the charge, and which are not

mere dead 'monuments' but are in use, are places of daily prayer. They are in fact living monuments, most carefully and tenderly treated. 'Restoration' in the bad and corrupt sense in which we so often use the word is but little known. 'Conservation' is the duty to be performed. The spirit of the *Tanzim* is to snatch away from these buildings the setting that suits them and to surround them with cockney trimmings and red geraniums.

Will it be believed that so little does the Public Works realize its own ignorance and artistic deficiencies that, so report says, it wishes to get the beautiful mosques into its own hands, to supplant, in fact, the *Comité de Conservation*? It seems that education by the study of old buildings is not essential, ignorant patching will suffice.

With an eye to these new roads, *ronds-points*, and 'developments', the ancient walls of Cairo are in great jeopardy. The world of visitors goes to see the majestic Bâb el Foutouh and the Bâb el Nasr, but the long line of wall which extends eastward from the Bâb el Nasr and then, turning south, extends nearly to the Citadel is not so visible. An exceedingly well-preserved piece of the outer wall built by Saladin lies immediately south of the eastern outlet of the well-known thoroughfare which begins in mid-Cairo as 'the Mouski'. At this point access is to be made to a great rearrangement of the rubbish mounds which lie east of Cairo. It is affirmed by those who want to do it that by burying this wall almost to the parapet it will be admirably preserved. My friend Sir Murdoch Macdonald, adviser to the Ministry of Public Works, is implicated in this business. The rubbish mounds being levelled, the group of buildings known as the Tombs of the Khalifs will be revealed and form centres (including geraniums, etc.) for a series of *ronds-points* towards which a web of straight roads will converge. Hausmann once more and without his experience. We must bear in mind that when these tombs were built there is no doubt that their surroundings were very barren and desolate, also that they were not hidden away as they have gradually been by the surprising masses of rubbish accumulated between themselves and Cairo.

Cairo is increasing with great rapidity. In these days, what with water laid on under pressure, trams that are by no means confined to the lower levels, and motor vehicles of all sorts, there can be no reason why the development of Cairo should be confined to the flat. If I may venture an opinion, those who are proposing an enlargement of the town in a position where, at a high level, the air is more pure and fresh than on the low ground, and where the soil is pure, is never water-logged, and

has not had inhabitants befouling it for more than a thousand years, are engaged in an admirable work. It is the way the thing is being done which induces me to send this communication to the Society of Antiquaries: it is the unhappy fact that in Egypt men, well equipped in one direction, are enabled to rush a scheme different from their ordinary line without any previous study or education in the necessary direction. Through the influences of the Public Works Ministry and the Tanzim, Cairo is gradually lapsing into a third-rate Marseilles. There are men to be found, and indeed well known, who have studied town planning and town development, who know very well that where there are ancient monuments the surroundings must to some extent harmonize with them, and that little bushes and red geraniums are not in sympathy. What is being done in Cairo is already out of date. The thoughtful have perceived that a cobweb of straight roads belongs to the past, that an ancient monument is not always well shown by placing it at the end of a weary vista.

It may be thought that I have forgotten Fostât. That is not so. Attention has been called to highly interesting discoveries already made. There is yet much more to be done, but the Tanzim offers every opposition. East of Cairo where the piles of the rubbish mounds are known to cover ancient sites, as excavations are made in the interests of Arabic antiquities and the history of Cairo, the Tanzim empties dirt into these very places. This enlightened department has also fixed its mind on completely engulfing the ancient Fostât and building blocks of workmen's dwellings on the top! That all the area of ancient Fostât can be left uncovered, more especially seeing how seriously ruined it is, would be unnecessary if not, indeed, undesirable, but that a most interesting page illustrative of the historic growth of Egypt from the Arab conquest and onward should be absolutely obliterated is not to be admitted for a moment. But, alas, in Egypt there is not only nothing to be found in the way of instructed and intelligent public opinion, such as we get at home, but there is no organization of any sort to take its place. The historic sites are entirely in the control of willing but busy officials, or of engineers, some of whom frankly scoff at history, art, or archaeology, while others have in these matters an interest so tepid, so little instructed, are so jealous of what they consider intrusion on their prerogatives, that poor Egypt suffers in either case.

I have already made my communication too long, but have not related half there is to be said. I will conclude by calling attention to the pottery ware of wonderful richness and variety of design which has been revealed in the excavations at Fostât.

There is not now any necessity to describe this as, thanks to the liberality of Mr. Vernon Wethered, and the generous sympathy with my efforts evinced by Ali Bey Bahgat, the Director of the Museum of Arab Art in Cairo, a most representative collection of the faience has arrived at the Victoria and Albert Museum. I have also been happy enough to secure representative collections for the museums at Stoke-on-Trent, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Swansea, all of which are now in England. For Stoke-on-Trent especial care was taken to obtain fragments illustrative of the potter's methods.

Not only does the collection of the Museum of Arab Art at Cairo display the ancient skill of the dwellers in Fostât as regards pottery, but also in dealing with wood carving, inlays, small objects in bronze, leather, and other objects for domestic use.

The Director of the Tanzim is desirous to put an end to further research, and, seeing that the Adviser to the Ministry of Public Works has control of all the sub-departments, he cannot wash his hands of responsibility.

Mr. H. R. HALL thought the paper of great interest and importance, and inquired if the Director of the Tanzim was a native. The Egyptians cared nothing for the art or antiquities of their country, and the Mahommedan had no respect for his ancestors. The rubbish heaps, as they stood, isolated the Tombs of the Caliphs, and the officials wanted to link them up with Cairo by building workmen's dwellings. He hoped the Society would make a protest against promiscuous digging in the mounds of Fostât.

The PRESIDENT considered it an inauspicious moment for the Society to intervene in a matter that chiefly concerned the native element in Egypt. Counsel could, however, be taken with Mr. Somers Clarke, whose long acquaintance with Cairo would enable him to proceed with the required tact and some hope of success. Certain museums had already been supplied with specimens from the mounds, and he had taken steps to acquire a good selection for the British Museum.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these exhibitions and communications.

THURSDAY, 26th FEBRUARY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

The Rev. Salisbury James Murray Price, D.D., and Richard Hensleigh Walter, Esq., M.B., were admitted Fellows.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 4th March, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

The evening was devoted to a discussion on the effect of the rise of prices on the finances of the Society, and as to the means by which this could best be met. No papers were read.

THURSDAY, 4th MARCH 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

C. E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a bronze frame of a gypcière recently found at Maidenhatch, near Pangbourne. The frame, which is seven inches across, is of bronze, patinated to a green colour, with the following inscription inlaid in silver letters:

Obv. AVE GRA IHS PLENA DNS

Rev. TECV BEVE ^A_M ΔICTA TV

Its date is the latter part of the fifteenth century.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., Ph.D., F.S.A., exhibited two marble statuettes, one of a man, the other of Venus and Cupid, an Iberian dagger, and three Ibero-Roman bronze bracelets.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared duly elected Fellows of the Society :

Harry Tapley Soper, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
Edward Guy Dawber, Esq.
Frederick Herbert Crossley, Esq.
Robin George Collingwood, Esq., M.A.
Walter Warren Seton, Esq., M.A., D.Lit.
Ely Wilkinson Crossley, Esq., J.P.
Ernest Alfred Rawlence, Esq.
Major Thomas Shepard.

THURSDAY, 11th MARCH 1920.

HORACE WILLIAM SANDARS, Esq., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows :

Walter Warren Seton, Esq., M.A., D.Lit.
Edward Guy Dawber, Esq.

The Right Rev. Bishop Browne, D.D., F.S.A., exhibited, on behalf of Major R. E. Stuart, a bamboo staff of dignity of the seventeenth century, on which he communicated the following note :

The staff of dignity exhibited by Major Stuart consists of four unequal lengths of bamboo, with metal sockets and ferrules at the ends of each section to enable it to be jointed together. The largest piece is 14 in. long and the total length of the staff when put together is 4 ft. 4 in. ; its greatest girth $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Upon it are seventy-five oval medallions, those upon the upper sections containing scenes from the Old Testament and from the life of our Lord, each with the appropriate inscription from the Vulgate beneath. The medallions on the lowest section, which is possibly a later addition, contain figures of the twelve apostles and of Saints Ninfa, Catherine, and Christina. At the bottom of the third piece is a fine arabesque ornament, but the corresponding ornament at the ends of the fourth piece is inferior in execution and apparently of another date.

The surface upon which the pictures are drawn or engraved is of remarkable fineness. The inscriptions are, certainly, incised, as are at least the bolder parts of the pictures ; in other parts there does not appear to be any incision of the surface, but the

whole may be taken as finely engraved. The art is no doubt traditional. The treatment of the subjects has evident relations with the religious woodcuts so largely produced in Germany and the Low Countries during the Reformation.

As to the date and place of origin, there can be little doubt that the staff was made in the West Indies in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The arabesque ornament may be compared with similar decoration on large tortoiseshell combs from the West Indies, beautifully engraved with a silver pigment inlay. Amongst those at South Kensington is one from Jamaica, dated 1688, and this date has no historical improbability for the staff. Jamaica, which had been granted by the Spaniards to eight *grandees*, was captured by the English in 1655 and the Spaniards were expelled three years later. The English title was recognized by the Treaty of Madrid in 1670. This was a very decorative age, and it is likely that the indigenous arts of the Spanish rule in the island survived the change of ownership. The Dutch feeling which some detect in the decoration of the staff can also be traced to the same source, but at an earlier stage; that is to say, to the connexion of the Low Countries with the island empire of Spain, and to the very general and highly advanced taste for decorative art which was a feature of those countries. Further evidence is found in a comparison with title-pages of Spanish and other printed books of the period.

The identification of St. Ninfa and St. Christina in the lowest row of medallions presents some difficulty. Ninfa is a well-known place in Italy, some forty miles along the Appian Way near the Three Taverns. It was famous for its beauty in the days of ancient Rome. It was dedicated to the nymphs. Probably, therefore, St. Ninfa should be St. Nympha, but so far she has eluded discovery. There is a saint of Laodicea of the name Nymphia who was martyred with Eubulus in the first century and is commemorated on February 28. Christina, too, is somewhat elusive. A third-century martyr of the name is represented in the procession of saints on the mosaic at Ravenna. There was also a Christina *mirabilis*, a virgin martyr of the thirteenth century, and a Christina *μεγαλόμαρτυς* martyred at Tyrus in 200 A.D., both commemorated on July 24th. Thus at present it is not possible to identify with certainty either of these two saints on the staff.

Since this paper was read it has been discovered that a similar but much more splendid staff, of seven sections, was exhibited before the Society on 22nd March 1764. A full description of it is given in the Minutes of that date. It was believed to have belonged to Pope Urban VIII, as the arms of his family occurred upon it. On this staff, as on Major Stuart's, the apostle Judas's

name is given as Tadeus. Pope Urban VIII died in 1644, a date which supports our suggested date of Major Stuart's staff as a survival of a remarkable art.

Lt.-Col. CROFT LYONS agreed that the staff probably came from the Spanish West Indies, and suggested that the bamboo should be submitted to the authorities at Kew in order to locate it. The subjects were evidently taken from a Flemish book of about 1600.

SIR ARTHUR EVANS thought that the engravings were executed on the original surface, not on some inlaid material.

Bishop BROWNE replied that the botanical staff of the British Museum had assured him that the bamboo might have come from any country in which that plant could grow.

H. G. W. D'ALMAINE, Esq., communicated the following note on 'The Devil's Ninepins', Ipsden, near Wallingford:

The stone circle known as the 'Devil's Ninepins' at Ipsden, near Wallingford, lies on the brow of a sharp sweep of hill 350 feet and more above sea-level, leading up from the village street.

The mound on which the circle stands is about 3 ft. 6 in. high, and the diameter of the circle, or ellipse rather, is 20 feet at its widest part.

Being desirous of discovering why this circle had not been recorded I began to make careful inquiries, and in the end unearthed its history; and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Herbert V. Reade, C.B. (the owner of the estate on which the monument stands), who furnished me with a copy of the Diary of his great-uncle, Mr. Edward Anderdon Reade, C.B., written in 1827 when on sick leave from India, when he was, I am informed, only 20 years of age.

The following extracts from the Diary explain the whole position:

October 8th 1827 at Ipsden House.

I had for some time formed a project of building a sort of Druids Temple with some large useless stones that are in the neighbourhood. This morning, with the assistance of Compton, several were conveyed to their destination before breakfast.

October 13th. Hard at work all day upon the Druids Temple.

October 15th. We performed a most signal work in moving the Hailey stone this day, one of immense size and intended to be the king of the others. By dint of large levers we got it upon a sledge contrived on purpose: and farmer Wear, our good-natured tenant, brought nine horses, all of whom had enough to do to get this monstrous stone to its

destination, when arrived within a few feet of its destination the sledge broke all to pieces, happily not before.

October 20th. We concluded our task of bringing the stones amounting in number to twenty-seven.

November 14th. I hired four men to work for me to-day, and we set hard to work at the Druids Temple and at the close of this day we finished it; and it has received general approbation.

It is clear from these entries that Mr. Reade, the builder of the monument, had no intention of forging an antique. It was evidently just a freak of fancy; but I must confess it puzzles me sorely to arrive at a comprehension of the impelling force that urged the youthful builder to erect an imitation of a Stone Age



'THE DEVIL'S NINEPINS', IPSDEN.

circle at such labour, and evidently at some considerable cost, with no thought of gain or intentional deception.

I am still more puzzled to know how, nearly 100 years ago, when so little investigation had taken place, and so little was known about these prehistoric monuments, Mr. Reade could have acquired such exact knowledge as would enable him to construct such a monument.

Mr. DALE was reminded of a similar case near Bramdean, Hants., where sarsens had been collected and arranged in the form of a cromlech in order to protect them from the road-maker.

H. CLIFFORD SMITH, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a gold ring, the property of Mrs. Richardson.

The ring exhibited was dug up about 1867 at Meaux Abbey, near Beverley, Yorkshire. The owner of the Abbey at that time was Mr. Robert Wise Richardson, to whose widow the ring now belongs.

The ring weighs $11\frac{3}{4}$ dwts., and measures 1.25 in. to the point of the bezel, and 1.05 in. across the hoop. It dates apparently from the ninth or early tenth century. It is unlike any other known rings of this date; and is peculiar from the fact that the high bezel is surmounted by a ball of gold instead of a stone. Its beaded gold work resembles that on the Anglo-Saxon ring found at Oxford and exhibited by Sir Arthur Evans on 8th March 1917¹; and it may also be compared in this respect with another Yorkshire ring, Queen Ethelwith's, in the British Museum, which was found near Aberford. The animals' heads on the shoulders of the ring bear a marked resemblance in point both of design and technique to the boar's head on the projecting base of the Alfred jewel. Boars' heads, it may be noted, also occur on the Berkeley Castle ring,² which is also probably of Anglo-Saxon origin.



GOLD RING FOUND AT MEAUX ABBEY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Sir ARTHUR EVANS agreed as to the Anglo-Saxon origin of the ring and its resemblance to the Alfred jewel, but remarked a peculiar likeness to a well-known medieval type set with a stone and said to have been worn with a slit glove. He saw no reason why that fashion should not also have appealed to the Anglo-Saxons a few centuries earlier.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH admitted a resemblance to the Ethelwith ring, in so far as both had a plain hoop with circular section, but there the similarity ended; and he could not recall any Anglo-Saxon ring with a gold bezel obviously imitating a cabochon stone. The double row of cells behind the two animal heads reminded him of several bracelets in the Oxus

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xxix, p. 123.

² Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, plate xiii, fig. 10.

The inscriptions on Mr. Dunn Gardner's cup differ sufficiently from those usually found on these cups to be worthy of quotation in full. They run as follows:

Round the bowl.

The fountain of all health and wealth he giveth drink indeed
Such as turn to him from their evil ways shall find sound
 comfort in their greatest need.
But evil workers that in sin remain
They are ordained to eternal pain
For every one of us shall be rewarded according to our works.
 Therefore repent unfeigned and amend.

Round the foot.

They that seek after the Lord shall praise him in their hearts
for ever. 1611.

Under the foot.

Misuse me not though I am no plate
A maple cup that is not out of date.
Drink well and welcome but be not too free
Examine whether if in Christ you be
If that your faith be true and firm and sound
Then in good works you will abound.
So run that ye may obtain.

A larger and more important cup than any already known, which I have unfortunately not been able to place on exhibition, is in the possession of Mr. Henry Howard, of Stone House, near Kidderminster. It is 20 inches high. Round the spice box are the words: 'Remember thine end: repent and amend 1620.' It is surmounted by the Selby crest in silver; and the body of the cup is mounted with strapwork bands of silver.

It has been suggested that these wooden vessels were presented to the bride and bridegroom and used in the church vestry on the occasion of marriages in the seventeenth century, when spiced wine or ale was drunk in honour of the bride. Their exact purpose, however, is still unknown.

The next group of objects shown consists of large standing bowls, mostly of lignum vitae. These bowls, commonly known as wassail bowls, are sometimes furnished with covers surmounted by a receptacle for spices. A number have been lent for exhibition by Mr. A. Dunn Gardner and Mr. J. A. Scrimgeour. The largest, contributed by Mr. Thomas Sutton, is 12½ in. high and 13½ in. in diameter. Its capacity is no less than four gallons. Amongst others is a bowl, shown by Mr. H. D. Ellis, which formerly belonged to the ancient Muscovia or Russia Company

of London. It is set with four silver medallions engraved with the rose and crown of England, the thistle and crown of Scotland, the harp and crown of Ireland, and the coat of arms of the Company. It dates from about 1620. Another bowl, with elaborately turned cover and pinnacle, is lent by the Sulgrave Institution. These bowls were used throughout the seventeenth century for serving spiced drinks. The drink itself was known as wassail or more commonly as lamb's wool. It consisted of ale sweetened with sugar and flavoured with cinnamon, cloves, and roasted apples. A *lignum vitae* bowl, of about 1670, lent by Mr. A. Dunn Gardner, has on its sides silver plaques in the form of apple boughs on which are inscribed the ingredients of lamb's wool: 'apples'—'nut-megge'—'hony'—'spices'—the ale being understood.

The contributors to the present exhibition of articles of turned wood include, in addition to those already mentioned, Mr. Talbot Hughes, Mr. H. H. Edmondson, the Marquess of Sligo, and the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, the Director of which has lent a number of wooden mortars.

Mr. LELAND DUNCAN said that in the old English marriage service a cup was brought in, filled, and carried in front of the bride: a form for blessing the cup was given in the Sarum office. There were bequests of cups to be carried before the bride, and the marriage service had undergone less change than any other. That use of the cup might have survived.

Mr. PALEY BAILDON said it was not clear how the costrel exhibited was turned out of the solid. The inscription of the marriage cup showed a lack of humour, but the interest of that and other pieces prompted him to ask for a few days in which to examine the exhibits.

Mr. QUARRELL asked whether the beech was used for turnery in the seventeenth century: modern work in that wood was most successful, and he had bought a specimen.

Mr. GARRAWAY RICE desired an explanation of the silver ring exhibited below a wooden bowl: it had all the appearance of an Irish 'potato-ring'.

Capt. LYON THOMSON saw no technical difficulty in turning costrels of the pattern exhibited, and proceeded to explain the process.

The MARQUESS OF SLIGO understood that the silver rings were made to support bowls and dishes, but dealers called them

'potato-rings'. They were used to hold vessels of pottery, wood, glass, punch-bowls, and the like. The bowl exhibited on the ring had the rose, thistle, and catherine-wheel in circles, and the engraving was of early seventeenth-century design. The bowl was lined with silver, as wooden bowls had a tendency to split. The ring was considerably later, being Irish work of about 1750; and was intended to keep hot dishes off the mahogany table.

MR. CLIFFORD SMITH replied that Sir Charles Jackson's estimate of the number of wooden standing-cups had been exceeded; and he felt sure that the owners would allow them to remain on exhibition for a few days. Whatever their original use, they were certainly not chalices.

THE CHAIRMAN thought that silver rings of the kind exhibited must have been used for supporting vessels with a rounded base, and quoted the clay rings used for that purpose during the Early Iron Age in Spain. Thanks were due to Mr. Clifford Smith for the trouble he had taken to organize the exhibition.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 18th MARCH 1920.

SIR CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, Esq., F.S.A., R.B.A. exhibited and presented a water-colour drawing by himself of the interior of the church of Saint Sophia, Constantinople, and the thanks of the Society were returned to Mr. Henderson for this gift.

Dr. W. L. HILDBURGH, F.S.A., exhibited some English alabaster tables, on which he communicated the following notes:

On several occasions I have had the privilege of contributing to the Society¹ material connected with the English medieval alabaster industry. This evening I am exhibiting five further

¹ *Proceedings*, xxviii, 63; xxix, 74; xxxi, 57.

specimens of such alabaster work, obtained on the Continent, and ten fragments discovered during the restoration of a church in North Lincolnshire. I am also placing on record several other examples found abroad, which have lately come to my notice, and finally an example in a public collection in London which I believe has not yet been published.

The first example that I show is the lower part of a table of the Assumption, representative of a fairly common type, of which various examples have been published in the *Catalogue*¹ of the Society's exhibition of alabaster work and elsewhere. The back of this panel is unusually interesting because of the series of marks² engraved upon it. One of these, drawn in light lines, consists of a cross elaborated by means of bars, drawn across the extremities of its arms, some of which themselves develop into crosses; the mark has been so lightly cut that its original form is no longer distinct, and further confusion is caused by a chip out of the edge, near which the mark lies, having removed a part of it. A second mark, on a much larger scale, is also lightly cut, and resembles somewhat the marks on certain other tables.³ A third mark consists of two sets of angularly wavy lines rather deeply cut. The panel came from a French source. Width approximately 9½ in.

The second panel (fig. 1) is unfortunately in rather a fragmentary condition. The portions remaining consist of three pieces which fit together and show three gracefully-modelled figures. The only emblems which are fairly determinate are the second figure's sceptre and small cup-like object, which, as Mr. Aymer Vallance has suggested, probably represents the ring of St. Edward the Confessor. The figures seem to have formed part of a *Te Deum* group, similar to that illustrated in fig. 34 of the *Catalogue* of the Alabaster Exhibition, which also contains St. Edward, or to that in fig. 570 (*b*) of Prior and Gardner's *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*. A very curious mark, which has been deeply and carefully cut on the back of the panel, is, at least so far as I know, the only one of the kind which has been recorded.⁴ The back of the panel bears, besides this carefully-graven mark, certain light scratches, rather irregular in arrangement and very carelessly made, whose form suggests one

¹ Nos. 53, 54, 58, 59.

² For figures, and a brief discussion, of these and of other marks on the panels I am describing, see E. Maclagan's note (appended to his 'An English Alabaster Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xxxvi, February, 1920), dealing in a preliminary manner with the marks on the backs of English alabasters.

³ On a panel in the Ashmolean Museum, and on the back of the Betrayal belonging to the Society. Cf. Maclagan, *loc. cit.*, marks 8 and 10.

⁴ Cf. Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

of the marks on the back of the Assumption, and also that they may possibly be related to the marks Maclagan records (*loc. cit.*) as being on the back of a St. John's Head panel in the Ashmolean Museum. The panel was obtained at Paris, the vendor stating that he had bought it at Dammartin (Seine-et-Marne) from a person who had dug it up in his garden.



Fig. 1. ALABASTER TABLE WITH ST. EDWARD ($\frac{1}{3}$).

On the third of the panels the Betrayal is depicted in a representation similar to that upon various other familiar tables. The panel belonging to the Society,¹ for example, is almost the same as to its grouping, although differing in a number of minor details, while other versions (such as that of no. 92 of the *Catalogue*) have obviously been based upon the same original. Here Judas has placed his left hand upon the shoulder of Christ, whose right hand is upraised in benediction, while a gauntleted

¹ *Catalogue*, Alabaster Exhibition, no. 20.

soldier, in the act of drawing his sword, grasps His garment with his left hand. Peter, his hand upon his sword, stands behind the Lord, while a man, with his left arm upraised as if he had just fallen, and with his staff beneath his right arm, lies at their feet. The recumbent figure appears to me to represent not Malchus, as has sometimes been assumed in descriptions of other similar alabaster Betrayals, but some other member of the party sent to take Jesus, and to typify the falling down at the words 'I am He'. In all the representations of the scene that I am acquainted with this person is shown as armed in some manner—sometimes he has a halberd (Alabaster Exhibition, no. 5), sometimes a large knife,¹ sometimes (as in the present example and in the Society's) a long and stout staff. In the present case the panel fortunately retains much of the colouring originally applied to the face of the prostrate man, and while this shows that he was represented as having a short but thick red beard extending to his (red) hair on both sides of his face, there seems to be no trace of a representation, on either cheek or on the clothing, of bleeding. Furthermore, in late medieval representations Malchus is often credited with the carrying of a lantern,² which does not appear in connexion with the prostrate man in the tables I have mentioned, excepting the one at Cologne. The figure in the background who is holding a lantern has, I think, probably been originally intended to represent Malchus. If the prostrate figure is not Malchus, the reading of the representation here is simplified, for now the whole scene comes within a single moment—and not at least two—the moment of Judas's embrace, when Peter was just *drawing* his sword (not, as some other explanations have it, sheathing the weapon). In an alabaster table in the British Museum, as well as in certain pictures which, I believe, are mostly later than the alabaster tables, the figure on the ground clearly represents Malchus³; but when it really does so in an alabaster table, the reason is, I think, that there has occurred one of the not infrequent alterations of the personality of a figure which occupies a certain position in the scene, my opinion seemingly being strengthened by Mrs. Jameson's statement⁴ that 'that view of the Betrayal which is given by the prostrate guards' was, 'from its greater reverence, adopted' before the

¹ F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Köln*, Berlin, 1912, pl. 56; the man here, kneeling, holds a lantern, while a cresset occupies the space above the heads of Christ and Judas.

² E. Mâle, in 'Le Renouveau de l'Art par les "Mystères"', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1904, p. 383, says that in the early fourteenth century the overturned lantern was not placed by the side of Malchus, but in the latter part of that century it sometimes was.

³ Cf. Mrs. Jameson, *Hist. of our Lord*, London, 1865, vol. ii, pp. 36 seqq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

view in which the incident of Malchus's ear is prominent.¹ The back of the panel bears a well-defined mark (fig. 2), about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. The panel, which is $15\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide, was bought at Rome, but without any history attaching to it.

The fourth panel (fig. 3), although badly mutilated, is a peculiarly interesting one. It represents the Resurrection of the Dead, with the naked dead arising, in the flesh, from their graves, while a saint kneels by them with folded hands from between which issues a scroll, the lettering on which has disappeared. I think that this saint is probably St. John the Baptist, because, in medieval times, whereas in French art St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary are shown interceding at the Last Judgement for the souls of the dead,² in German representations of the subject the former's place is taken by St. John the Baptist,³ and as the bearded figure is obviously not the Evangelist it is likely to be his substituted namesake.⁴ The style of the fragment resembles that of a panel in the Louvre Museum,⁵ representing Christ in Limbo, a somewhat similar subject. The panel was excavated at Valladolid, on the site of the Convento de San Francisco.



Fig. 2. MARK ON BACK OF BETRAYAL TABLE.

The last of these alabasters (fig. 4) is a figure, in the round, whose plain back, straightish sides, and slightly flattened relief, mark it as intended for standing against a flat surface. The figure, which holds the lower part of a conventionalized tower in the left hand, apparently represents St. Barbara. The upper part of the tower has been broken off and is missing, but we may see what form it probably had in a complete alabaster figure of the same saint shown in fig. 580 (p. 503) of *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, and in a figure on an alabaster panel of a group of female saints, at St. Peter Mancroft (*ibid.*, fig. 570 b). The representation of the tower has a curious sunken convex boss, rising from a circular depression to a little above the surface, about half-way up its cylindrical part; a small circular protuberance appears in a similar position in both the other figures I have mentioned. I think that this boss probably is intended to represent a holy wafer, although in the present

¹ But cf. the Betrayal in Gabriel Millet's *Iconographie*, pp. 326-44.

² E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 371. For representations of the 'Resurrection of the Dead', see p. 373.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 371, footnote 2.

⁴ Cf. also Biver, *Arch. J.*, lxxii, p. 78.

⁵ Nelson, in *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Ches.*, 1917, pl. vi.

example at least it resembles such a wafer only in the circular form of its outline, and although, furthermore, the holy wafer in representations of St. Barbara is (according to the books dealing with the emblems of saints) ordinarily shown with a chalice. The right hand of our figure, which is now missing, doubtless formerly held a palm-branch. At some period a break



Fig. 3. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD (A).

in the neck of the figure has been ground a little on its two surfaces, so as to make a flat joint. Since the figure came into my possession I have removed the head, which was obviously not quite in its original position, and have had it replaced in as nearly as possible what seemed to be its proper place, and the surface made up with plaster. Unfortunately a considerable section of the front surface, about the break, has had to be replaced, so that at present one cannot see if the dress originally reached the neck. A somewhat puzzling feature of the figure is that

round the edges of the chest there are very distinct traces of the flesh-colour used for the hand and the face, which, although we cannot be certain, seem to be part of the colouring originally applied. No maker's or owner's marks are to be seen



Fig. 4. ALABASTER IMAGE OF ST. BARBARA ($\frac{1}{4}$).

on the back of the figure, but upon the bottom surface there are some scratches which may possibly have been intended to represent a date (? 1751; the second numeral bears no resemblance to '4' as written in the fifteenth century), and four short and slightly convergent deeper marks. The vendor of the figure said that he had obtained it from a stone-cutter at Neufchâteau,

in the Department of Vosges, France. Its height is about $24\frac{1}{2}$ in., and its maximum width about $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

By the courteous permission of the Rev. A. G. E. Smith, vicar of the church of St. Andrew at Wootton, North Lincolnshire, our Fellow Mr. Crowther-Beynon has brought for exhibition this evening ten fragments of English alabaster tables, found about the year 1850 during the restoration of the church. As three of these fragments fit together, and very obviously formed part of a panel ($14\frac{1}{2}$ in. high) depicting the Annunciation, and as several of the remaining ones have clearly belonged to a panel representing the Adoration of the Three Kings, we seem to possess in the fragments the remains of a set of tables showing—as do a number of still complete sets on the Continent—scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary.

I shall now describe briefly a few other alabaster carvings, of presumably English origin, which are to be seen, or were to be seen, in Spain. The collections in the Municipal Museum (Museo Municipal Histórico, Artístico y Etnográfico) at San Sebastian contain a few fragmentary specimens of English alabaster carvings, mounted together, for the purpose of exhibition, upon a large wooden tablet. They are as follows: (1) A large Trinity of a type (of which many examples have been recorded) in which the Father, seated, supports the crucified Son; the Dove of the Holy Spirit is missing in the present example. The present height of the figure, up to the lower edge of a damaged canopy which surmounts it, is about 24 in. (2) A mutilated figure of a saint (fig. 5), with his right hand uplifted and an anchor hanging from its wrist, which seems to represent St. Clement. Its present height, measured to the break at the neck, is approximately 19 in. (3) The lower part (about two-thirds) of a panel representing the Ascension, very similar in treatment to a table, depicting the same subject, in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹ (4, 5, 6, 7) Fragments of tables showing, respectively, portions of two men, a part of a man, two feet, and the crowned head of a man.

These carvings come from the ruined Eremita de Salvatore, between Renteria and Oyarzun, which, standing upon an elevation of strategic importance, was destroyed in consequence of its having been occupied by Liberal troops during the second Carlist War. We may possibly trace the existence in the neighbourhood of these and of some other objects made in England to the English dominance of the Duchy of Guienne, which included Bordeaux and Bayonne and their vicinity, well into the fifteenth century. Renteria, Oyarzun, and some other places which are now included in the Basque portions of Spain, formed part of

¹ *Catalogue, Alabaster Exhibition*, fig. 8, plate iv.

the Diocese of Bayonne¹ until the year 1566, and in at least some respects English influences very probably extended to the district wherein the Eremita was situated. While the fragmentary nature and the condition of injury of the carvings make judgment in



Fig. 5. ALABASTER IMAGE OF ST. CLEMENT ($\frac{1}{3}$).

the matter somewhat uncertain, I am inclined to think that we have here a case of the importation into Spain of a miscellaneous lot of alabasters turned out of Great Britain at the time of the Reformation, rather than an example of the fulfilment of a special

* ¹ See R. Veillet's *Recherches sur la Ville et sur l'Église de Bayonne*, vol. i. (Bayonne, 1910), map on p. 176.

order given to the alabaster carvers or to the merchants who dealt in their wares. The late D. Pedro Manuel de Soraluze, the Curator of the Museum at San Sebastian, told me that there are a number of images in churches along the coast of Asturias and Galicia, which are reputed traditionally to have come from Great Britain at the time of the 'Persecutions' of the Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century, and that there are some images even in places far from the coast to which similar traditions are attached. Some of the things with which these traditions are concerned are said to have been brought to Spain in the ordinary way, as ships' cargo, but there are certain others, wooden images, which are believed to have floated from the shores of Great Britain, where they had been thrown into the sea, to be cast upon the shores of Catholic Spain.

Traditions such as these seem to me to add a peculiar interest to a well-preserved painted wooden image of the Holy Trinity (fig. 6), also in the Museum at San Sebastian. The figure, about 54 in. from the bottom of the base to the top of the crown, was formerly in a small church in the parish of Lezo, on the Bay of Pasajes, a few miles from San Sebastian. It so closely resembles, both in its general form and in certain of its details, various alabaster representations of the same subject which are ascribed to English origins, that I think we may very reasonably credit it to an English artist. We should note, incidentally, but as possibly having some bearing on the matter, that Pasajes and Lezo, like Renteria and Oyarzun, were formerly included in the diocese of Bayonne. The Father's attitude, the treatment of His hair and His beard, His crown, and His drapery, the treatment of the figure of the Son, and the globe below the cross, recall closely the alabaster Trinities which are figured in Dr. Nelson's 'Some examples of medieval alabaster work',¹ but they resemble even more closely those in a very beautifully worked and well-preserved alabaster image² formerly in the possession of an antiquity-dealer in Madrid, but sold by him in New York some time ago. The many likenesses between the wooden figure and certain alabaster images which we know or may reasonably presume to be English, incline me to believe that the figure is not only of English workmanship, but that it was the work of an artist of the school that produced the alabaster carvings of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. At the period at which the wooden image was made, Spain had very many wood-carvers of her own schools, fertile in imagina-

¹ *Arch. Journ.*, vol. lxxi, 161.

² The image, which was no. 35 at the 'Exposición Diocesana del Centenario de Constantino', at Madrid, 1913, is figured on the thirteenth plate of the small illustrated *Catalogue* of that exhibition.

tion and exceedingly skilful of hand, wherefore it seems unlikely that a wooden figure should have been carved in England especially to meet a Spanish demand, or that an English image should have been copied in Spain. We are tempted to think,



Fig. 6. WOODEN IMAGE OF THE TRINITY IN SAN SEBASTIAN MUSEUM.

therefore, in view of the image's former situation in a parish actually touching the port of Pasajes, that the image is one of those exported from England at the time of the suppression of the monasteries. The conclusion that the image is one of those brought to Spain at the period of the Reformation is strengthened by a legend attached to a large wooden image of Christ which

is also at Lezo, and to which come many pilgrims each year. Concerning the Christ of Lezo, we are told that it is English, and that it was obtained in England, during the religious troubles in the reign of Henry VIII, by the crew of a Spanish vessel calling there at the time, and was by them brought to Spain. The tale of its coming became changed into a legend, according to which the image was thrown into the sea by King Henry himself, and, having been borne by the waves from the English coast as far as Lezo, chose that part of faithful Spain as its landing-place.¹

The Barcelona Municipal Museum of Fine Arts has a fragment of an English alabaster panel depicting the Coronation of the Virgin on exhibition in a gallery of fifteenth-century sculpture and painting; the fragment is mutilated and has lost practically all of its original colouring.

Another Coronation, but one which I have not actually seen, is (or was) at Peulada, in Spain; it has been photographed by Mas, of Barcelona (*negr.* 8,110, *Series e*). The Virgin, with her hands uplifted, is enthroned between the Father and the Son, while the Dove, representing the Holy Spirit, emerges with partly opened wings from a cloud and touches with its beak the summit of her crown. The Father and the Son, who are seated upon thrones resting on quadrangular pillars sufficiently high to bring their breasts and their outstretched hands to the level of the Virgin's triple-tiered crown, are bearded, robed, and wear single-tiered crowns.

Very similar to this Coronation, both in its technique and in the treatment of details, is an Adoration of the Kings, of which I have a photograph by Señor Mas (*negr.* 10,891, *Series e*), taken at Sitges, on the sea-coast near Barcelona. This panel is somewhat unusual as regards the disposition of its figures. The Infant Jesus lies in the manger, covered to the neck, at the bottom of the panel, with the heads of the ass and the ox directly above Him and gazing upon Him. At His head, and on the right (of the photograph), St. Joseph is seated, asleep,

¹ F. de Mély, in 'L'Image du Christ du Sancta Sanctorum, et les Reliques chrétiennes apportées par les Flots', in *Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, vol. lxiii, Paris, 1904, p. 117, quoting G. Bonnamour, in *Le Gaulois*, May 23, 1904. The small book on *El Santo Cristo de Lezo* (printed by J. Baroja, San Sebastian, 1908) in referring (pp. 17, 18, 19) to the history of the Christ of Lezo, quotes three of the various legends which have arisen concerning its origin, but in none of these three is England mentioned. Although a cursory examination, at a distance and in a poor light, of such parts of the sacred image as were exposed to view at the time of my visit, did not lend itself to a confirmation of any theory as to the origin of the figure, the above quotation seems worth citing as a contribution to the history of English exportations to Spain of church furniture.

with his left hand supporting his head and with his left elbow resting on the arm of his chair. At the opposite end of the manger is seated a smallish female figure, which I take to represent one of the midwives (cf. *Proceedings*, vol. xxix, pp. 85, 86), who, with hands together in adoration, looks upon the Child. The Virgin Mary, crowned, with a large nimbus in relief against the background, and with her hands raised and outspread in adoration, kneels upon a cushion set a little above the heads of the animals. The kings, very richly appraised and all wearing their crowns, stand, holding their gifts, one in front of Mary and to her left, and the others behind her and to her right. From the girdle of the king in front of Mary and from that of Caspar hang large grelots.

Through the courtesy of Dr. H. S. Harrison, the Curator of the Horniman Museum, at Forest Hill, London, I am able to show a lantern-slide of an alabaster panel, 21 in. high and 10 in. wide, representing the Crucifixion. In the *Catalogue* of the Society's Exhibition are figured¹ several altarpieces, in France and in Italy, showing similar Crucifixion panels still in place in their altarpieces. The present representation of the scene is of a fairly common type, and various examples of it have already been illustrated, such as the one (in the Ashmolean Museum) shown at the Society's Exhibition (no. 24 of the *Cat.*), which is very similar indeed.

Dr. HILDBURGH also exhibited an English Bronze Processional Cross with original staff, and other examples of medieval metal work, on which he communicated the following notes:

The Spanish traditions, to which I have referred, attached to certain ecclesiastical objects of English make which were brought to Spain at the time of the English Reformation, add interest to this processional cross. It was until quite recently, when I bought it in Northern Spain, in Spanish hands. It is of typically English workmanship, and probably was made in the late fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. Even now, in spite of its imperfect state, it has a peculiarly pleasing appearance, while in its simplicity and solidity it exhibits the characteristics which we are accustomed to associate with English metal work.

The cross (fig. 7) is of light-coloured bronze, and still shows strong traces of the gilding which formerly covered it; it is of a fairly common kind, intended both for use upon the altar and for carrying in procession. A cross of the sort is in the British Museum, there are two others in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Society possesses a fine example, and two others have, within quite recent years, been exhibited in

¹ Pl. i; and pl. viii, figs. 17, 18, and 19.

room—one of them from Lamport, Northants,¹ and the other from Guernsey.² The present cross differs, however, from all the others I have mentioned in that it still has the original staff (or, more strictly speaking, the greater part of that staff) with which it was furnished for processional use, a feature which is certainly very rare and of which I know at present no other surviving example. Several of the crosses I have cited have bronze or latten bases upon which such crosses were set when used upon the altar, but in the present specimen this, together with certain other parts, is now missing. The object consists of three parts: (a) the cross itself; (b) the socket; and (c) the staff. At present the cross and the socket are firmly attached to each other, the juncture seemingly having been made at some period when a break at the lower part of the cross was under repair, but we may take for granted that formerly they were separable, as in other examples of this type.

The limbs of the cross terminate each in an empty roundel, formerly containing an inserted plate bearing, doubtless, on one side the emblem of one of the Four Evangelists. On the front, the flat central band is engraved with a loose twist of two strands, with a five-petalled flower within a circular band at the intersection of the limbs. On the back, the central band is engraved with a conventionalized vine pattern, with a cross *patée* within a circular band at the intersection of the limbs. The Christ, of a very reddish bronze, or of copper, gilt, hangs with the hands well above the level of the head, which is inclined towards its right; the figure is very similar to that on the Lamport cross, to which the cross now exhibited to the Society corresponds also in various other details. The lower part of the cross has been broken, and has been clumsily repaired by means of an iron plate, which covers the opening of the lowermost roundel, riveted to the cross.

The staff-socket is of the form usual in crosses of this kind. A hollow tapering lower piece into which the top of the staff fitted is surmounted by an eight-lobed, rather flattened, knot, each of whose lobes ends in a lozenge engraved with a radial pattern. Above the knot is the socket from which the cross was formerly removable, but which has now been soldered to it; this socket formerly carried two loose arms which supported images of the Virgin Mary and St. John. The total height, from the bottom of the staff-socket to the present top-most point of the cross, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the original height, allowing for the missing tip of the uppermost crocket, was $26\frac{1}{2}$ in.

The staff probably consisted of three latten sections, of which

¹ *Proceedings*, vol. xxii, pp. 41 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 1, 2.

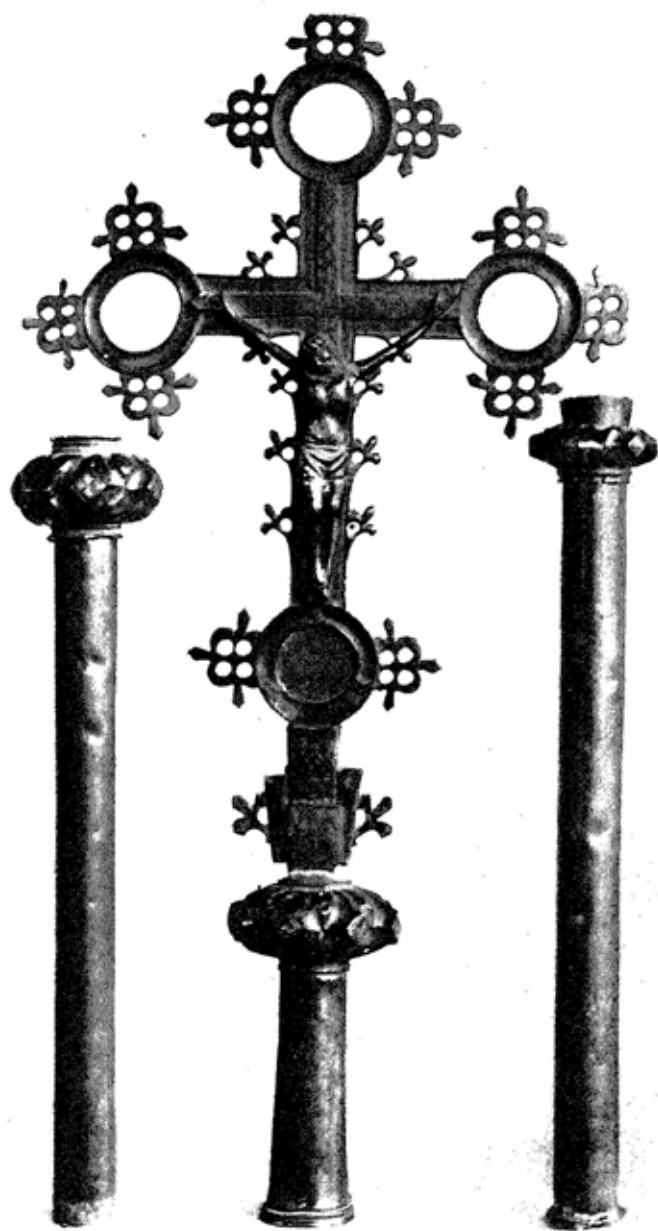


Fig. 7. ENGLISH PROCESSIONAL CROSS AND STAFF ($\frac{1}{2}$)

only two at present remain, fitted upon a wooden stick. At the top of what is now the upper section, fitting just below the staff-socket, is a six-lobed knot, with projections ending in lozenge-shaped faces engraved each with a cross. This knot fits over a latten tube, engraved with a lattice diaper of interlacing bands, which in turn fits into the upper opening of a second latten tube ornamented like the first. Just below the joint there is a metal knot, similar in form to the one last mentioned, but flatter and somewhat less in width. As I have mentioned, there seems to have been, as in other processional crosses of about the same period,¹ a third section of the staff, which, we may reasonably suppose, probably consisted of a latten tube, engraved like the two still in place, and another metal knot which relieved the staff of the slightly unbalanced appearance it has now. The two present tubes are, respectively, 17½ in. and 18 in. long; when they are set together and fitted to the socket the cross is about 61 inches from the bottom of the lower tube to its present topmost point. In a procession, with all its parts in place and with its gilding intact, this cross must therefore have formed a striking as well as a handsome object.

A pair of gemellions. While the enamelled basins known as gemellions are at present very far from being common, most good collections of medieval French enamels include several single examples of either one or the other basin of a pair, with the enamelling more or less intact, while occasionally couples which are presumably the original pairs are to be seen. The two specimens exhibited represent the two basins—the one for pouring and the one for receiving the water—but, although I obtained them together, they were obviously not made for use as a pair. One of them has been deprived of its enamel entirely, and the other retains only a few traces which serve to give some idea of its original colouring. The injuries to the enamels of gemellions are often to be ascribed to the use of the basins, when no longer required for their original purposes, as plates for the collection of offerings in churches²; after the enamelling had been seriously damaged, the remaining portions were, doubtless, sometimes removed as an ‘improvement’. Rare as are, outside of museums and great private collections, gemellions which contain enamels in their hollows, examples which lack their enamels are, even

¹ ‘Itū a Crosse wīh a crucifix & 3 popis & 3 knoppes to the shaft all cop^d and guilt,’ part of a gift in 1440. E. Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, Lond., 1866, p. 184. ‘Itū a shaft of silu^d for the same crosse wī a roll gilte & iij knottes gilte of the whiche knottes en^y one hath vj roses enameli^d wī asure the whiche shaft cōteyneth in lengthe ij yardis di^d. . .’ *Ibid.*, p. 191, in inventory taken in 1534.

² E. Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890-92, p. 545.

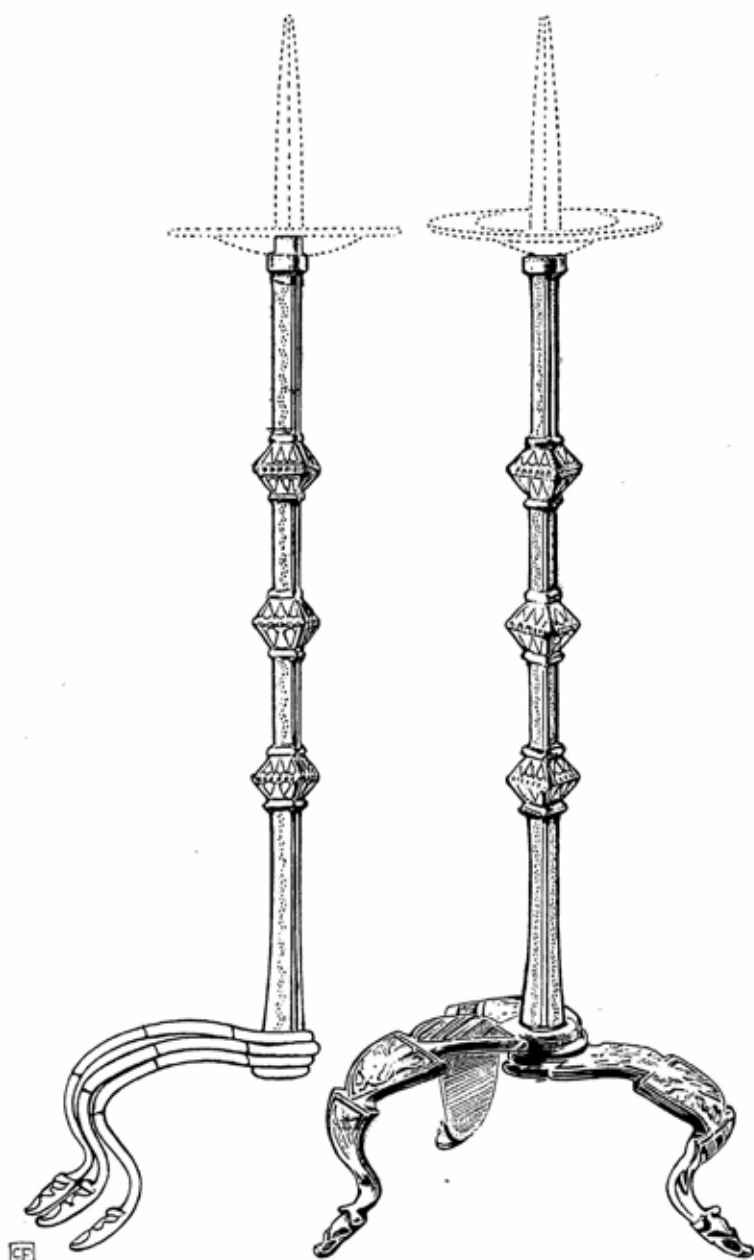
though far less valuable, perhaps even less often to be met with, for unscrupulous persons commonly send them to be re-enamelled with a view to selling them as intact originals. Fortunately, frauds of this kind are generally not difficult to detect.

The basin has a spout in the shape of an animal's head and is $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. Its centre is occupied by a shield of the arms of France ancient, enclosed in a circle of conventional ornament. Surrounding this are six arch-shaped divisions, containing each a different figure, alternately a man playing a musical instrument and a lady dancing. On the back there is engraved a star-shaped design, consisting of eight semicircular arcs (each of which is tangent to the arcs on either side of it) whose points end each in a fleur-de-lis. At the centre of the star is a shield bearing a castle. Rupin (*op. cit.*, pp. 549, 550) gives a descriptive list of the gemellions known to him, in which he cites several gemellions having at their centres shields sown with fleurs-de-lis, and he shows others in four of the illustrations (figs. 609, 610, 611, 614). One of these latter (fig. 610), which formed part of the Treasure of Conques (Aveyron), is so like the present example, even as to its size, as to be especially worthy of note.

The second gemellion, which is 9 in. in diameter, has in its central division a crowned male figure with on one side a man playing a rebeck and on the other a woman who holds something, seemingly castanets, to which she is dancing. Round the central division are six circular arches, each containing a hunting-scene. In each space between a pair of arches is a small turret, besides the conventional foliage. The back is lightly graven with an ornamental design resembling an 'M' (or an 'E', according to which way it is set) formed of thick stems. A gemellion with four lobes containing hunting scenes is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and another is in the British Museum.

A medieval enamelled travelling-candlestick. This candlestick (fig. 8) is of a type of which comparatively few examples appear to have survived, its three legs, instead of being fixed, being so arranged that they can be folded one above the other, and the candlestick thus caused to occupy less space. The legs, and the stem as far as the pricket, are certainly original, but the pricket is a restoration in a somewhat yellower metal. The pan, from the nature of its metal and the quality of its enamels, appears originally not to have belonged to the present stem.

The legs of the candlestick were made to fold in order to facilitate packing when its owner was travelling. That the folding type, compared with the 'nesting' type (cf. Rupin, *op. cit.* 521), is of rare occurrence is indicated by the fact that

Fig. 8. MEDIEVAL ENAMELLED TRAVELLING CANDLESTICK ($\frac{1}{2}$).

Rupin (*ibid.*, 524) mentions only three of these folding examples, one (fig. 591) with the legs lightly engraved, and the other two (from the Ducatel Collection) 'Limoges work of the thirteenth century', with legs enamelled with coats of arms.¹

The present example is of copper, formerly gilt. The stem is square in section and at present measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the underside of the pivot to the point at which the pricket has been attached. The stem, which is ornamented upon each face with a wavy double line of lightly cut dots, is divided into four parts by three nodes, their faces engraved with a simple network of lines and their edges serrated. The legs are held to the stem by a loose washer and the hammered end of the stem. Each of the legs has the form of three shields set in line, with the lower end of one resting upon the upper edge of the one below. The lowest shield on each leg is somewhat extended downward and ends in a small animal's head. Each of the nine little shields forming the legs has been decorated with arms in champlevé enamel, of which considerable traces remain. Concerning these arms, which are of value in enabling us to fix, seemingly almost to the year, the date at which the candlestick was made, Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, has very kindly prepared for me the following interesting note:

The arms enamelled upon the supports refer to the period (after 1284) when the crowns of France and Navarre alike vested successively in Philip IV (d. 1314), Louis X (d. 1316), and Philip V (d. 1322), of France.

The lowest of the candlestick's three legs has the three shields:

- (1) France ancient.
- (2) Navarre (*chains in cross and saltire*) and Champagne (*two bends cotised inwards*) dimidiated.
- (3) Burgundy ancient; duchy (*bendy or and azure a border gules*).

Philip, son of Philip III, *le Hardi*, and Isabel of Aragon, married, in 1284, Johanna (d. 1305), daughter and heiress of Henry I, king of Navarre, count of Champagne, and succeeded to the French crown as Philip IV, *le Bel*, in 1285. His eldest son, Louis [X], *Hutin*, king of Navarre from 1305, married as his first wife, in that year, Margaret (d. 1315), second daughter of Robert II, duke of Burgundy, by Agnes, a daughter of St. Louis.

The middle leg bears the arms:

¹ The Wallace Collection contains a small folding candlestick, each of whose legs is of the same form as those of the present example; the enamelled shields are (according to the label attached) of Castile, Sicily, and Aragon.

(4) Bar (*azure two barbel back to back*).

(5) Burgundy ancient; duchy: as (3).

(6) Burgundy, palatinate (*azure a lion rampant or*).

The first two are for Edward I, count of Bar (son of Henry III of Bar and of Eleanor, daughter of Edward I of England), who died in 1336; his wife was Mary, youngest daughter of Robert II, duke of Burgundy, and sister of the aforesaid Margaret.

Philip [V], *le Long*, count of Poitiers, second of the sons born of the union of France and Champagne-Navarre, married, in 1306-7, Johanna, elder daughter of Otho IV, count of Burgundy (d. 1303), and of his second consort, the famous Matilda (Mahaut) of Artois.

His younger brother and successor, the count of La Marche, Charles [IV], *le Bel*, espoused in 1308 Blanche, the younger daughter of Otho IV of Burgundy.

Upon the uppermost leg are found:

(7) Champagne: as (2).

(8) Burgundy (palatinate): as (6), but the lion *guardant*.

(9) Burgundy (duchy): as (3).

It may be mentioned that duke Robert II of Burgundy's mother, Beatrice (d. 1295), was likewise a daughter of the house of Champagne: her father was Theobald II, *le Grand*, of Navarre (d. 1253).

'About 1310' is the year given by Mas-Latrie for the Bar-Burgundy alliance (4, 5), so that this would appear to be the earliest date for the candlestick. The three Burgundian marriages of the sons of Philip, *le Bel*, had all been concluded by 1308. Margaret of Burgundy, the consort of Louis X, died in 1315, and Louis's second alliance, in the same year, with Clementina, daughter of Charles I of Anjou, king of Hungary, is unrepresented among the arms.

There are traces of enamel in several of the shields, and Burgundy county (6) is still entire. In two cases the central bend of Burgundy duchy (3, 9) shows white inlay. The billets are not indicated in the field of Burgundy county and, similarly, the arms of Bar, no doubt owing to the small scale of the work, show little but the two fish, all but an indication of one crosslet, in chief, being omitted. The coat of Champagne has the central bend indicated by a cavity, so that the cotices appear as the more important charges, the enamel being wanting.

Two fragments of medieval Limoges champlevé enamel-work. The first of these two pieces, in the form of an inverted T, is of copper, and formerly served as the lower termination of the front of a rather large enamelled cross. It has upon it the figure of a saint, probably an evangelist. The face is in high

relief and formed of an attached piece of copper. It is $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. high and $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide, and dates from the thirteenth century.

The second specimen is a small plaque of copper from which the enamel has completely disappeared. It measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in height and $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in width. It has the appearance of having been one of the plates on the outside of a small reliquary casket, and the scene upon it probably refers to an incident in the life of the saint whose relics were enclosed. Two persons, a bearded man and a beardless one, or a woman, pluck at the garments of a saint, indicated by a nimbus, who carries over his right shoulder an object resembling a bucket which hangs from a stout rod. The ornamentation of the ground, against which the clothed parts of the figures stood out in coloured enamels, is of that somewhat uncommon character to which the French have applied the term *vermiculé*.¹

A small copper image of the Virgin and Child. This small copper image (fig. 9c), representing the Virgin Mary, seated and holding the Infant Christ, has certain features which, I think, are somewhat unusual in metal figures of the period to which it belongs. It was, I think, probably made at Limoges, and during the second half of the thirteenth century.

The image, whose present height is $3\frac{7}{8}$ in., has been constructed of two stout sheets of copper which have been separately beaten into shape, chased, and engraved, and have been joined neatly along their edges so as to form a hollow figure in the round. A copper rod runs across the interior of the figure, from front to back and at about $\frac{5}{8}$ in. from the bottom, holding the two sections firmly at that point and giving a means for attaching the figure to a base of some kind with which it was doubtless formerly provided. Traces of gilding show that the figure was formerly gilt all over.

The Virgin, who wears a veil beneath her crown, is seated upon a throne, the engraving on the back of which, representing blocks of stone, indicates an architectural character. The Infant stands erect upon her left knee, while she supports Him with her left hand; in her right hand she holds what seems to be an apple, which the Child touches with His right. The Child, who stands with His head and shoulders curiously far back, is clothed in a single long-sleeved garment extending from neck to ankles. He is nimbed, and holds a book in His left hand. Beneath the Virgin's left forearm, and between the back of the Child and the edge of her robe, the surface of the copper has been engraved in such a manner as to suggest part of a wall formed of blocks, the lowest and largest of which has markings resembling the repre-

¹ For notes on this see J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, 'Les émaux limousins à fond vermiculé' in *Revue archéologique*, 4^e sér., vi, 15, 231, 418.



a b c d
Fig. 9. TWO HOOD-FIGURES AND A FIGURE OF OUR LADY AND CHILD (A)

sentation of a door. Whether by accident or by design, the upper part of the Child's body, at the back, projects over this construction, as if He were seated upon it, although the front part of His body seems clearly to be shown in a standing position. Perhaps the intention has been to show Him leaning backwards against His throne; or, possibly, the throne has been introduced merely as a symbol of His majesty. I imagine that the architectural treatment of the Virgin's throne, and of what I take to be the Child's, is intended to suggest the heavenly Jerusalem, in the midst of which the Lord sits enthroned (Rev. xxi). Such symbolism would account simply for the many French and other representations of the throne of God which have an architectural character; and it would, I think, account also for the frequent architectural representations of the Virgin Mary's throne,¹ because the conception of her as 'Queen of Heaven' was in medieval times a favourite one among her worshippers.

A curious feature of the figure is the representation of a door engraved amongst the masonry at the back of the throne; it is shown fastened by a large bolt held by means of a square lock. The engraving suggests that the figure has been intended to represent in little a favourite statue of the Virgin and Child—probably (although I have not been able to identify it) one at some noted place of pilgrimage—and that it was a popular devotional object of a kind in which towns containing famous shrines still find an exceedingly lucrative trade. The representation of the door seems to indicate that the present figure was not made in order to serve merely as an ornamental accessory of some large article for ecclesiastical use.

Although various figures of the Virgin and Child, made of sheet copper (sometimes decorated in part with champlevé enamels), are known, and a number of these have been described in books (such as Rupin's *L'œuvre de Limoges*²) or in articles

¹ E. Mâle, in his *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1913, figs. 115 (a sculpture of a doorway), and 116 and 117 (glass windows), shows three examples; in figs. 115 and 116 the Virgin's canopy as well is architectural. Rupin, *op. cit.*, shows (figs. 518, 519, 520) two thirteenth-century statuettes, of copper repoussé and engraved, of the Virgin and Child, whose enamelled thrones are each decorated in front with four tiers of small arches. He also shows (pl. xlviii, fig. 636) a fourteenth-century morse, including an enthroned Virgin, somewhat resembling the present one, and, like her, holding a standing Child on the left knee, whose throne appears to be represented as made of blocks; the surface of this morse is of champlevé enamel, and has the figures—which are of copper repoussé, engraved and gilt—in relief.

² Figs. 222, 223 show, for example, a small enamelled figure of this kind, with a hinged door in the back of the throne; fig. 288 shows a thirteenth-century *custode* for the Holy Sacrament, in the form of an engraved and gilded copper figure of the same kind, with a hinged door in the

dealing with early Limoges enamels, small figures like the present one have hitherto seemingly escaped much notice, either because of their comparative unimportance or, possibly, because of their rarity. Isolated figures and groups in half-relief, formed each of a single sheet of copper subjected to the same series of operations as the sheets of the present figure, and intended for attachment to the surfaces of various objects for ecclesiastical use, are, of course, by no means uncommon, and such figures, which have been formerly attached to the surfaces of many of the medieval enamelled objects ascribed to the workshops of Limoges, are familiar to all who know objects of that kind.¹ Figures in the round, formed each of two copper half-reliefs fastened together, seem, however, to be very much rarer. A Virgin and Child more than double the size of the present example, but made like it, of two gilt sheets of copper, is in the Wallace Collection. It is a reliquary, and has a small door in the back of the throne to allow relics to be placed within it. It is attached to a stand of *champlevé* enamel.

Two bronze rood-figures. Neither of these two bronze Christs is quite like any other which I have seen either in the original or pictured. The earlier of the two (fig. 9 *b*) which is cast in a very coppery bronze, and is hollow at the back from the shoulders down to the lower edge of the loin-cloth, has several rather curious characteristics. The face, the arms, the legs below the knees, and the feet, are all long as compared with the width of the trunk or with the parts of the body concealed by the loin-cloth. The head is inclined forward, and, although it is in the round, has but little depth behind the face. No crown is worn, and the hair, which falls behind the ears and in a long tress on either shoulder, rises but little in height above a low forehead. The ears, which are fully exposed, are set extremely high on the head; the eyes are drop-shaped convexities, with a deep hole to represent each pupil; the nose is long and its bridge is sunken; the beard is short below the chin and the part on the cheeks is set far back on them. On the trunk, the armpits are exaggeratedly deep, and the breast-muscles and the ribs are distinctly marked, but there is no other attempt at a naturalistic modelling. The loin-cloth hangs in strongly-marked, but very conventionalized, folds; it falls well below the knees on either side, but in front it arches over each knee separately, so that the knees are completely exposed. The feet are turned downward

Virgin's lap; figs. 289, 290 show a similar *custode* in the form of the Virgin without the Child; and there is a chapter (pp. 459 *seqq.*) which deals with 'Vierges reliquaires', and gives illustrations of several and a list of others.

¹ Cf. Rupin, *op. cit.*, in various sections. A late example, but one particularly interesting to us because of its subject, has been referred to in footnote 1, p. 137.

until they are almost in the plane of the legs, and their soles are nearly vertical, indicating that the upper surface of the *suppedaneum*, to which each foot has been attached by an iron nail, must have been very steep. There is an iron nail through the left hand; the right arm has been bent far forward in a curve, and its hand has been broken off just above the wrist, as if by a person trying to wrench the figure from its cross. The figure, whose extreme length is $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., was, according to the man from whom I bought it, obtained by him at Moulins, in the department of Allier. In some of the churches of the former province of Auvergne, the boundary of which is only a short distance south of Moulins, there are wooden images which exhibit certain of the peculiarities observable in the loin-cloth of the present figure.¹ I think, therefore, that the figure was made in or somewhere near Auvergne, and probably about the year 1100.

The second rood (fig. 9 a), which is of a lightish-coloured bronze, measures about $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. from the toes to the highest point of the crown. It is hollow at the back, and, like many German images of the kind,² has no nails passing through the feet. The loin-cloth falls in three planes, nearly vertical, of which one is approximately parallel to the front of the cross, and the other two are approximately perpendicular to it, so that the cloth practically turns at a right angle on either side of the figure. The disposition of the folds is curious, a few great vertical folds being supplemented in front by a peculiar arrangement of the upper part, of which I have not seen another example. The left hand still contains an iron nail and the left arm has been bent upwards in a curve; the right arm has been broken off a little way from the shoulder, clearly in an attempt to bend it as the left has been bent. Roods which have been distorted by turning the arms upwards are not uncommon. The deformation has been ascribed by some to Jansenist fanatics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who believed that Christ ought not to be shown with arms open as if inviting all people to come to Him.³ The figure is so unlike any of the many German roods of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries inclusive, figured as being in the Schnütgen Collection at Cologne,⁴ or those at Berlin,⁵ that, although it has what seems to me a Germanic

¹ Cf. A. de Rochemonteix, *Les Églises romanes de la Haute Auvergne*, Paris and Clermont-Ferrand, 1902; figs. 128, 225, 232, 284.

² Such as those cited in footnotes 4 and 5 *infra*.

³ Cf. A. Gazier, *Rev. de l'art chrétien*, lx, 77; J. Hoppenot, *Le Crucifix*, Lille and Paris, 1902, 191-2.

⁴ Witte, *op. cit.*, plates 1-5.

⁵ W. Vöge, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Deutsche Bildwerke*, 1910, figs. 457-61 and 463.

feeling, I do not consider myself justified in calling it German. The peculiar arrangement of the upper part of the front of the loin-cloth is very unlike that of any other rood I know, excepting one (uncrowned and in other respects different from the present example) in the Victoria and Albert Museum which has been assumed to be German, and even that arrangement is by no means the same. The squarish technique suggests that the figure is connected in some way with wood-carving of a primitive character. To judge by the general appearance of the figure, I think we may reasonably ascribe it to the late twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century, although it has certain features which admit of the possibility of its being a somewhat later, but still medieval, production in the style of the period suggested.

Mr. AYMER VALLANCE believed the cross-shaft to be unique. The crosses fell into two groups, and the exhibit was of the larger size: one had the branches springing from above the upper knop, the other from the stem. The Society's specimen belonged to the smaller group, which included the greater number. The earlier attitude of figures on crucifixes underwent a change owing to the desire for realism: instead of being side by side without nails, the feet were crossed and one nail secured the two. Another change could be traced in the drapery: at first the figures were fully draped, but the robe became shorter and shorter and eventually turned into a waist-cloth. The earlier roods also had the eyes open and a regal crown on the head: later the crown of thorns was substituted and the arms became more oblique. The Jansenists were credited with raising the hands above the head, in accordance with their doctrine of partial redemption; but orthodox Spain also favoured that position of the hands.

The SECRETARY said that cross-stems were not uncommonly mentioned under the name of pipes and were always three in number, as for instance in a Scarborough document of 1434. The staff was always of wood and the knops were called bosses. Frequent exhibits of alabaster had drawn attention to the subjects and brought out interesting details. The types had no doubt a common origin, and two on the table showed a curious development. Dr. Hildburgh's Betrayal had five soldiers, with Malchus holding a lamp; but the Society's had only two soldiers, one of the other figures still, however, retaining the falchion. Otherwise the two were remarkably alike.

Dr. HILDBURGH in reply noted other varieties of common types: in addition to the Crucifixion at the Alabaster Exhibition.

in which the mounted men of the Horniman Museum example appeared on foot, he mentioned a case in which the Three Kings of an Adoration were shown as angels upon a cloud. He thought that, while being made, the groups were set out on the panel by some kind of stencil, and the details left to the discretion of the craftsman.

The PRESIDENT thought that the setting-out was done by the master craftsman, hence the superiority of the design to the actual execution. In spite of faulty details the alabasters had the fine effect that was intended by the artists.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 25th MARCH 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Ernest Alfred Rawlence, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was given of the Anniversary Meeting for the election of President, Officers, and Council to be held on Friday, 23rd April, St. George's Day.

W. Paley Baildon, Esq., exhibited and presented a bronze portrait medal of the late Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A., and thanks were returned to Mr. Baildon for this gift.

C. L. KINGSFORD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on Paris Garden and the Bear-baiting, which will be printed in *Archæologia*.

It had commonly been alleged that Paris Garden took name from Robert Paris, who in the reign of Richard II had a garden on which the butchers of London built a place where their offal might be cut up for the bears. But the writ on which this story was based contains no mention of a garden or of bears, and it was obvious that the site referred to was on the opposite side of the river, probably in Queenhithe Ward, of which Robert Paris was a common councillor. The site of Paris Garden anciently belonged to the Templars, and then to the Knights of St. John under a lease from Bermondsey Abbey. In 1535 it

was assured to Henry VIII by Act of Parliament, but neither then nor in subsequent grants was there anything to suggest that bear-baiting was practised there. Paris Garden Stairs formed the most convenient landing-place for the bear-rings, and this probably led to the common reference to the bear-baiting at Paris Garden. We certainly got such references long after the time when it was known that the bear-baiting was held further east. Amongst the Alleyn manuscripts at Dulwich College there was a list of his 'writings of the Bear Garden'. But none of the deeds were now preserved there. Recently five of them had been discovered at the Record Office, to which they probably came as an exhibit in Alleyn's lawsuit with William Henslow in 1620. From the deeds and from the interrogatories and dispositions in this lawsuit it was possible to restore much of the early history of the Bear Garden before 1594. One William Payne was lessee of the Bear Garden before 1574, and erected standings or scaffolds for the spectators. Payne was succeeded by one Wiston, who was followed, perhaps with an interval, by Morgan Pope in 1585. Pope appeared to have transferred his lease to one Hayes, from whom it was acquired by Thomas Burnaby, the person who sold it to Alleyn in 1594. Burnaby had sublet in 1590 to Richard Reve, and annexed to his lease was a list of the bulls and bears, together with the pony and ape. This list was, with the exception of one given by Taylor the Water-poet fifty years later, the only complete one in existence. In the list appeared a bear called 'Harry the Tame', which was also mentioned by Nash in 1593. The deeds and interrogatories made it clear that the bulls and bears were kept at the Bear Garden and not at Paris Garden, as early as the time of William Payne. Payne used to bait the bears at the place subsequently known as the Old Bear Garden. John Taylor, one of the witnesses in 1620 (who had been wrongly identified with the Water-poet), remembered two earlier places at which they were baited, one near Mason Stairs and the other at the corner of Maiden Lane. One of these was referred to in 1578 as the Old Bear Garden. At the Record Office there were a number of deeds relating to the early history of the site of the original bear gardens. That this site was part of Alleyn's property was shown by his endorsements on many of the deeds. When the actual bear-garden was moved further east, the lessees probably found it convenient to retain the original site for purposes connected with their business.

Dr. MARTIN said that a sifting of the topographical evidence for the river bank between London and Blackfriars bridges was highly desirable, and he had listened for any reason for locating

the bear-pits in Paris Garden. Bear-baiting there was mentioned by Ben Jonson, but several bear-pits had evidently existed in the neighbourhood. He shared the author's opinion of the sixteenth-century maps, which were engraved in Holland from notes taken in London. The discovery of further documentary evidence was a matter for congratulation.

Mr. PALEY BAILDON had had occasion to examine the manorial papers of Paris Garden and found no trace of any bear-pits there; but they existed on Bankside. He dwelt on the double meaning of Stews, and cited Mews as a parallel instance of change in meaning.

Mr. FINCHAM drew attention to mills of the Knights of St. John on a plan of 1544 in the possession of the Governors of St. Olave's Grammar School.¹ They were at Horsleydown, but Mr. Kingsford had shown that the Hospital had other mills near Paris Garden.

Mr. PAGE inquired as to the size of bear-pits and bull-rings. They were often referred to, and seemed to have been in confined spaces.

Mr. KINGSFORD replied that the story of the bear-pits grew out of the offal story. The bear-gardens were outside the jurisdiction of the City. Stews might mean fish-ponds as well as a bagnio; in Southwark the name might have originated with the fish-ponds. There was no direct evidence of the size of the bull-rings, but they would accommodate from two to three thousand people. He held that the maps were evidence of a sort for the period 1560-1620, but it was clear that the two rings should have been north and south, not east and west as mapped.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 15th APRIL 1920.

SIR CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Notice was again given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Friday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., for the election of President, Officers, and Council, and a list was read of those Fellows who on that day would be put to the ballot to fill the offices in question.

¹ *Surrey Arch. Collns.*, i, 171.

The Report of the Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1919 was read (see end of volume), and thanks were voted to the Auditors for their trouble, and to the Treasurer for his good and faithful services.

R. L. SHERLOCK, Esq., communicated the following note on Worked Quartzites from Caddington and Gaddesden Row:

In Mr. Worthington G. Smith's paper entitled 'Notes on the Palaeolithic Floor near Caddington' (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxvii, 1916), it is stated (p. 55) that at Gaddesden Row, Herts., there are quartzite flakes exhibiting retouching, also that an implement from Caddington, Beds. (illustrated fig. 7) agrees with the quartzite dug at Hartshill, Nuneaton, NE. Warwickshire.

I find, however, that a flaked quartzite from Gaddesden Row, exhibited in the British Museum, is made out of a sarsen from the Reading Beds; and so is the figured implement from Caddington, kindly lent me by Mr. F. W. Bagshawe. Mr. W. G. Smith was therefore mistaken in thinking that the quartzite is from Nuneaton. The matter is of importance because, on the high ground of the Chiltern plateau on which these quartzites were discovered (the 'floor' at Gaddesden Row is about 525 ft. above O.D. and at Caddington about the same), no stones other than those derived from Cretaceous and Tertiary deposits (i.e. local deposits), have ever been found, so far as I am aware, higher than about 420 ft. above O.D. Below that level far-travelled stones are common in the Drift, but above that level, in the Chiltern District, the Drift is of purely local origin. The presence of Nuneaton quartzite would therefore have been very remarkable, whereas the sarsens are common stones locally.

C. H. HUNTER BLAIR, Esq., F.S.A., communicated the following note on the Seal of Harold's College at Waltham Holy Cross¹:

In the *Proceedings* of the Society, vol. xxviii, pp. 95-102, the late Sir William St. John Hope gave the history of the seals of the abbey of Waltham Holy Cross from examples he had found in the Public Record Office.

There is a blank in the interesting story he tells, for no seal was known to him of Harold's College of secular canons consecrated in A.D. 1060. To-night I submit a photograph of a seal which, I have no doubt, is the missing common seal of that college. It is appended to a grant, from Adam canon of Holy Cross to Algar the prior and the monks of St. Cuthbert, preserved in the treasury of the dean and chapter of Durham (No. 1^a-4^{ae}

¹ The Society is indebted to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for permission to reproduce this seal.

Eboracensia 27). The following is a transcript of the document¹:

CIROGRAPHUM

Dominis et fratribus suis · Algaro priori dunelmensi · et Omnibus monachis Sancti Cuthberti · Adam Sancte Crucis canonicus · salutem · Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse · Deo et Sancto Cuthberto · et vobis pro anima patris mei · et matris · et parentum meorum · et pro redemptione anime mee illas tres terras que fuerunt patri mei Godwini Ouergait in Lundonia · et quartam terram que · est de patrimonio meo · et similiter illas terras quas Godwinus predictus moriens dedit patri meo · et pater meus mihi · ea conuentione ut uno quoque anno reddam vobis v solidos de illis terris quamdiu uixerō · et post meum obitum · libere et quiete · ab omni calumnia eas in perpetuum habeatis.



SEAL OF HAROLD'S COLLEGE OF WALTHAM HOLY CROSS (†).

Algar was prior of Durham A.D. 1109-37. The early form of address used in the grant, the transverse way in which the seal is attached to a strip of the parchment, so that it appears upright when the document is read, the narrow strip of parchment cut off below that to which the seal is fastened, doubtless in order to close the document, the circular seal of natural wax, light brown in colour and varnished, all corroborate this date. It is indeed quite possible that the seal may be of even earlier date than the grant. It has a diameter of 50 mm. and, though the impression is not very good, it is clear enough to show the device fairly plainly. This represents an equal limbed cross

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., F.S.A., for this transcript.

upheld by two angels, standing one at each side; their right and left hands respectively rest on the intersection of the cross, their other hands hold the outer ends of the transverse limb. Their inner wings are upraised against the upper limb of the cross, their outer wings rest against the ring of the legend. They are both-nimbed and clothed in loose flowing robes of an indeterminate character. The legend, which is in Roman capitals, with G and M as uncials, is unfortunately partly illegible, and I am unable to suggest a completion; it reads:

✠ SIGNO STIGMA CRVCIS CV T AMICIS:

The design of the seal is singularly good for so early a date, and I think there can be no doubt that it is the original from which was derived the beautiful oval seal of the late twelfth century, illustrated on page 96 of Sir William Hope's article.

Mr. R. C. FOWLER emphasized the importance of the seal as being the prototype of the later seal of the abbey.

Mr. H. S. KINGSFORD thought that the first letter of the word after CRVCIS was a G followed by V, and as there appeared to be an H and an A a few spaces further on, he suggested that the first of the missing words might be GVALTHAMI, and the second a verb ending in T. There was a cast of the seal in the Society's collection, but as it was merely labelled 'Durham' it had remained unidentified until Mr. Blair made his interesting discovery.

E. J. FORSDYKE, Esq., M.A., read the following paper on Some Arrow-heads from the Battlefield of Marathon:

In the British Museum there are a number of weapons which have come, or are said to have come, at different times from the battlefield of Marathon. The first of these came with the collection of Viscount Strangford in 1864. They are an iron dagger with bone hilt, a small two-bladed bronze arrow-head, and fourteen still smaller bronze arrow-heads of triangular section.¹ Eighteen precisely similar triangular arrow-heads were given with some others by General Meyrick in 1878.² Nine leaden slingshot were bought at the Londesborough sale in 1888. Ten large iron arrow-heads of peculiar shape were bought in 1906. These were said to have been found in a tomb on the plain of Marathon. The latest accession is a pair of large iron spear-heads and some more leaden slingshot, which have been deposited

¹ B. M. Guide, *Greek and Roman Life*, ed. 2, fig. 103.

² Skelton, *Antient Arms and Armour*, i, pl. xlv, figs. 7, 8.

in the Museum on loan from His Majesty's Armoury in the Tower of London.

When so large a proportion of arrow-heads in the British Museum is derived from Marathon, it is reasonable to expect that other collections may contain specimens from the same source, but I can only find one instance of their publication. The Grand-ducal Museum of Karlsruhe possesses forty-one Greek arrow-heads, and all are 'from the battlefield of Marathon'.¹ The drawings of this group show that it includes every variety of arrow-head that was used by the Greeks, such as might indeed have been brought together in an ancient battle, but are much more likely to have been accumulated in a modern shop. Arrow-heads no doubt find a readier sale as relics of a famous victory than on their own merits, and it would probably be found that Marathon has always been an attractive source of curiosities for the traveller. It ought not to be accepted as a provenance for ancient weapons without good evidence of their discovery. I do not propose, however, to investigate the history of all the types of arrow-head which the London and Karlsruhe collections claim to have acquired from the battlefield. The small bronze arrow-heads with sockets, whether flat, like miniature spear-heads, three-bladed, barbed or unbarbed, or triangular, will be generally recognized as common Greek patterns, and I cite them only to point the contrast with two other forms, both of large size and with tangs instead of sockets: the iron set in London and a barbed bronze head (no. 39) at Karlsruhe.

I. *The Large Iron Arrow-heads with Tangs.*—This set (fig. 1) was acquired by the British Museum in 1906 from Miss Saumarez Brock, who stated that her father, Admiral Brock, had dug them out of a grave in the plain of Marathon in 1830. The locality therefore is fixed, but their date has still to be established before we can assign these pieces to the great battle. The material is rare for the fifth century B.C. Greek arrow-heads were made of bronze, though Greek shapes made in iron are often found in Egypt. So in the Bronze Age arrows were usually armed with stone, because in their respective periods the metals were too valuable for use in small missiles, which would be shot once into the air and lost for ever. These iron heads are exceptional in form as well as material. Their large size and attachment by tang instead of socket can find parallels in other ancient types, but the details of shape and fabric are unique. The ten arrow-heads make a set, no doubt from the same quiver, yet each is different from the others. Individual variations are shown more clearly in the drawing (fig. 2) than in the photograph (one piece is too badly rusted to be drawn). The forms range from a

¹ Schumacher, *Bronzen zu Karlsruhe*, p. 144, pl. xiv.

pointed bolt of square section (*a, b*) to a broad blade (*g-i*), the transition being made by working in opposite angles of the bolt a flat face (*c-f*), which increases in size until the whole side of the arrow-head is flat. The sections taken at the points marked on each piece show the process of flattening. A feature which is common to all is the cutting away of the base more or less abruptly so as to form a shoulder of about the same thickness as the shaft. It is the faceted forms which are unique among ancient weapons; those which stand at the ends of the series, the square bolt and the flat blade, can be matched both in shape and material.

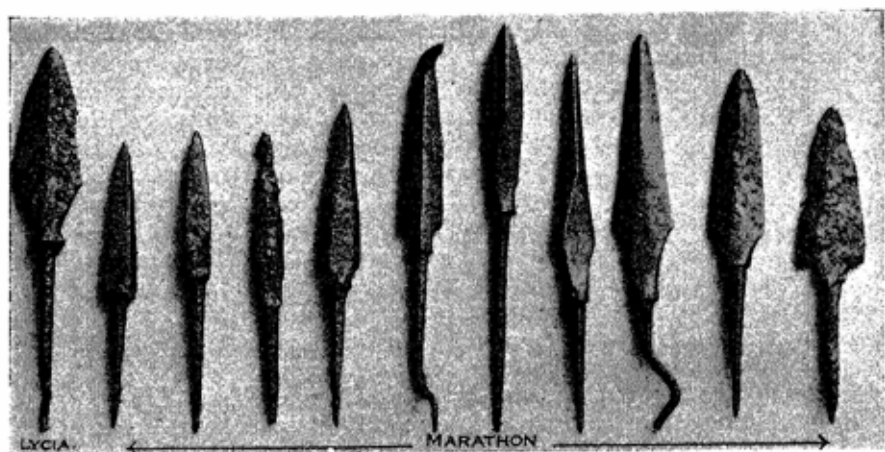


Fig. 1. IRON ARROW-HEADS FROM MARATHON (1:2).

The square bolt is a common form in Cyprus, where it was naturally cast in bronze. It is called by Myres a later Oriental type.¹ Two examples from the British Museum collection (fig. 3) show the only variations which appear: the edge is sometimes straight, sometimes recurved, and the section becomes rhomboidal. It does not seem to be a native Cypriote form, for it does not occur in early finds, but its origin has not been found elsewhere. An iron arrow-head in the British Museum with much shorter head comes from Hierapolis in Phrygia, and three pieces of the same short pyramidal shape were found in the Mycenaean beehive-tomb at Menidi in Attica.² None appeared in the German excavations at Olympia, but the Greek cuirass published among the

¹ *Handbook of Cesnola Collection*, p. 490, nos. 4779-85.

² *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* (Deutsch. Arch. Inst.), pl. ix, 8, 9, 12.

bronzes from that site is pierced with a small square hole which such a bolt would make.¹ The long form is certainly Oriental.

So too the arrow-head which stands at the other end of the Marathon series, the broad flat blade, is known as an ancient pattern in the Near East. In the British Museum are examples from Lycia (fig. 1, *left*), Hierapolis (Tambuk-Kalessi) in Phrygia, and Jerusalem, all of iron and differing from each other and from our Marathon pieces (fig. 2, *g-i*) only in the angle at which the shoulder is cut out. The simplest form of this arrow-head that I can find is in a pair in the Egyptian Collection at University

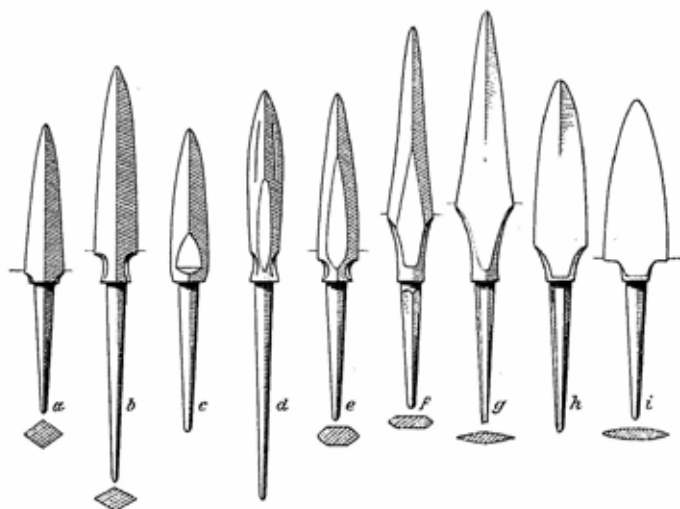


Fig. 2. DETAILS OF IRON ARROW-HEADS FROM MARATHON.

College, London (fig. 4).² They bear no record of date, but Petrie remarks that 'the large iron blades, 193-4, are evidently not native to Egypt. They are nearly the same as the lance from the Caucasus'.³ The latter blade is rather larger and more pointed at the sides, but the long tang and the flange at the head of it are alike. Both of them also show the curious shift in the planes down the axis. The Egyptian examples were probably left behind by a Sarmatian soldier'. The shift in the planes, forming an 'ogee section' (fig. 4) may be a mark of early fabric in iron.⁴

¹ *Olympia*, iv, pl. lix.

² Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 35, pl. xlii, 193-4.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xli, 151 = Chantre, *Recherches dans le Caucase*, iii, pl. xii.

⁴ See below, p. 154.

At both extremes, then, the Marathon set is connected with ancient Oriental weapons, but the intermediate forms only find their counterparts among modern arrow-heads of the Middle and Far East. Twelve arrows selected from the large number in the British Museum illustrate this remarkable similarity (fig. 5). The first six pieces (*a-f*) are shown by details of finish to belong to two different sets, but they are all of the same fabric. These are Persian or Indian. In the lower row, *g* is from Central Asia,

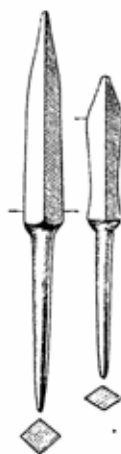


Fig. 3. BRONZE ARROW-HEADS
FROM CYPRUS (1:2).



Fig. 4. IRON ARROW-HEAD
FROM EGYPT (1:2).

h with square bolt-head and bark binding from Siberia, *i* and *k* are from China, *l* and *m* from Japan. The two last show the finest workmanship, and in design come closest to the Marathon heads, but there are important differences: the metal is steel, not iron, the fabric is sharper, and the tangs are very much longer. These two arrows are quite modern, belonging to the last century, but the form is old in Japan. The British Museum possesses also a set of five Japanese arrow-heads which have not been inserted into shafts; each piece is engraved on the facets at the base of the blade with the name of the maker, Mino no Kami Fujiwara no Masatsune, who worked about the year 1600. In the example

illustrated (fig. 6) the inscription is not reproduced. The tang of this arrow-head is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. A similar form of blade is not uncommon among Japanese bronzes of the Yamato period.¹

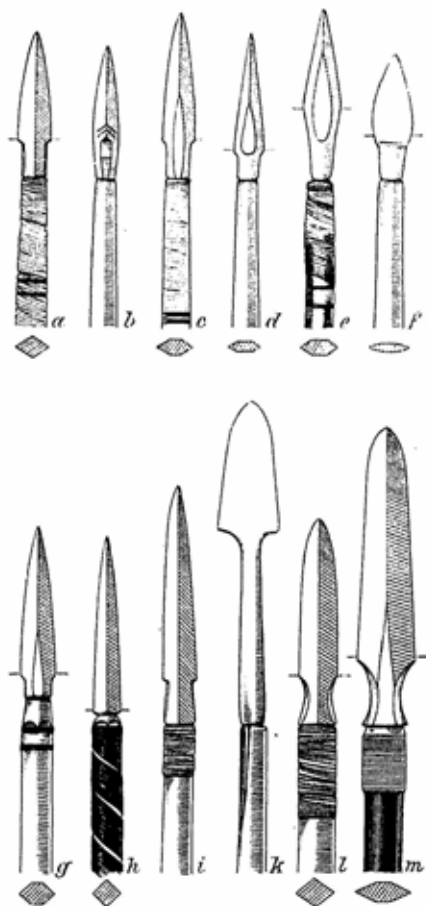


Fig. 5. MODERN ASIATIC ARROW-HEADS
(1:2).



Fig. 6. JAPANESE ARROW-HEAD OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (1:2).

It is evident that the Marathon arrow-heads are not Greek, but Oriental; and since, in spite of extraordinary resemblances to modern Asiatic weapons, they show close affinity with ancient

¹ In the British Museum, Gowland Collection, and elsewhere.

types, it is reasonable to conclude that they were brought to Marathon by an Oriental bowman in the service of Darius. There is no archaeological evidence to fix their origin more definitely. The ancient arrow-heads with which they are connected have so far been found in Caucasus, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Syria, but more distant regions have hardly been explored. As for their modern parallels, the types may have penetrated to the Far East long after the battle of Marathon. The unusual material should be the leading clue in the search for their place of origin; but even in Western Asia there were many ancient sources of iron, from the Chalybes by the Black Sea to Doliche in Commagene, *ubi ferrum nascitur*. One of our examples is from Lycia (fig. 1, *left*): we remember the shooting of Menelaos by Pandaros, leader of the Lycians, whose arrow had an iron head and a thread binding at the end of the shaft, that is, the arrow-head had a tang.¹ But, unlike the Marathon arrows, it was barbed.

Perhaps the most suggestive comment is in the account which Herodotus gives of the numerous bowmen in the forces of Xerxes which invaded Greece ten years after Marathon.² There the only people whose arrows are particularly described are the Indians, 'who wore clothes made of cotton, had cane bows and cane arrows, and the arrows were armed with iron'; the Ethiopians, who 'had small cane arrows and an arrow-head made of sharp stone, the same that they cut seals in'; and the Lycians, who 'had cane arrows without feathers'. In each instance the special mention of the arrow must be due to some peculiar feature, and it is significant that an iron-armed arrow receives as much notice as a stone-tipped one. This passage does not indeed justify the attribution of our Marathon arrows to an Indian archer in the service of the Great King, but it indicates a part of Asia in which the home of these strange types may possibly be found.

II. *The Large Bronze Arrow-head with Tang and Barbs.*—The large arrow-head illustrated among the ancient bronzes of the Grand-ducal Museum at Karlsruhe³ is one of a not uncommon group which has been variously defined as Oriental of the Hellenistic period⁴ and Egyptian of the Nineteenth Dynasty.⁵ Whether this example came from Marathon or not is an unimportant question in the present inquiry, and one which probably could not be answered. I have pointed out that the Karlsruhe group of Marathon arrow-heads contains a suspiciously complete series of types, and that in any case

¹ Homer, *Iliad* iv. 151.

² Herodotus vii. 65.

³ Schumacher, *Bronzen zu Karlsruhe*, pl. xiv, 39.

⁴ Myres, *Cesnola Coll.*, 4786-8.

⁵ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 35.

good evidence must be produced before such provenance can be accepted.

This arrow-head is heavy and tanged, and agrees in size also with the Oriental heads from Marathon (about four inches long); but it is made of bronze, it is barbed, and it differs in every detail of fabric. It is common enough to be represented in most collections. A selected series from the British Museum (fig. 7) shows its variations of form. All have a curious protuberance at the head of the tang, obviously intended to prevent

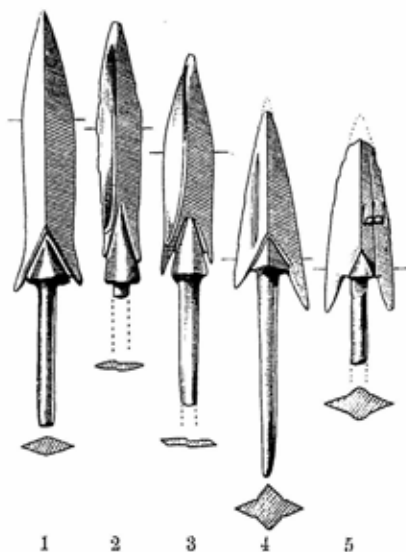


Fig. 7. TYPES OF BRONZE ARROW-HEADS FROM GREECE (1:2).

the arrow-head from splitting the shaft on impact; but, as Petrie points out, its design is singularly unpractical, for the projection 'would act as a stopper to hinder penetration, yet the head was always barbed and was therefore expected to penetrate. The knob is therefore a puzzle.' Another characteristic feature is the continuation of the line of the barbs over the knob. The alternate sinking of the sides in nos. 2 and 3 is plainly an addition, having no place in the original design, although it survives in a useful form in the deep cuts on alternate sides of many examples (as no. 4), and as a reminiscence only in the slight scratches on no. 5 and others. The purpose of the groove was to assist penetration by providing an outlet for blood and air. The original purpose of the cut-out side is not so obvious. It produces the 'ogee section' which has already been noticed in

two iron arrow-heads from Egypt.¹ A similar shape occurs in modern arrow-heads from many parts of Africa.² There the explanation is given that the shape arises from the smith's



Fig. 8. PA-
PUAN ARROW
ARMED WITH
A HOLLOW
BONE (1:2).

practice of turning his work on the anvil so as always to hammer on the right-hand side, thus producing a sunk face at alternate edges. Another version is that the blade is forged from a bar of metal cut half through down its length and opened out. Neither tale will suit the present case, for the arrow-head is cast, not forged. A more likely suggestion here is that the cut-out was a practical contrivance for sharpening the blade, which can thus be easily rubbed down on one side only, as has actually been done in no. 3 (see the section, fig. 7). The profile of these blades is also remarkable, almost recurved in the early forms (nos. 1-3), then simply rounded (5), and finally straight (4). It looks as if these features had a structural origin: in nos. 1 and 2 particularly it seems as if the blade were a sort of sheath drawn over a point of which the knob is the base. Here again anthropology offers an explanation: certain arrows and lances from New Guinea are armed with hollow bones pointed and barbed, which are drawn over the tapered end of the shaft. In the drawing of one of these in the British Museum (fig. 8),³ the correspondence of outline to that of the arrow-head no. 1 (fig. 7) is particularly exact—the slightly splayed barbs, parallel sides, and convex curve to point. The bone is said to be the tibia of the cassowary, but other bones and even cassowary claws are similarly used.⁴ The knob which survived so persistently in the bronze examples would have been made originally to stop the hollow bone from driving down the shaft.

The distribution of these bronze arrow-heads is wide. Twenty-two are enumerated among the weapons from Olympia, besides many more which were not numbered; Petrie shows sixteen from Egypt at University College, London; those which are illustrated here (fig. 7) came to the Museum from Olynthus (1), Athens (2), Corfu (3), and Cnossos (5).

¹ Above, p. 149.

² I owe this and other anthropological notes to my colleague, Mr. H. J. Brauhnoltz.

³ From the district inland of Maipua, Purari River, Papuan Gulf.

⁴ In the army of Xerxes the primitive Ethiopians carried lances armed with sharpened gazelles' horns. Herod. vii. 69.

Petrie defines them as 'southern, mainly from Egypt', and dates them 'about 1200 to 800 B.C., or a little more either way'.¹ This does not agree with Olympia nor the evidence of Greek coins. Furtwängler and others following him have noticed that this arrow-head appears as a type or symbol on coins of Crete²; but while it is common there, it is never found elsewhere, nor does any other arrow-head occur commonly on Greek coins. There can be no doubt of its identity (fig. 9): the tang, the boss, and the long barbs are plainly indicated, and its association with the bow proves that the weapon is an arrow, and not a javelin. The



Fig. 9. SILVER COINS OF CRETE, SHOWING THE CRETAN ARROW-HEAD.

coins shown here are silver money of different Cretan cities: Cydonia, Cnossos, Polyrrhenion, Hyrtacina, and Tylisos; the smallest piece, with bow and arrow-head, has *obverse* a head of Heracles, and has been attributed to Crete on independent grounds by Svoronos. The coins are all of the fourth century B.C.³

This arrow, therefore, may safely be identified as the arrow of the Cretan bow. Its wide distribution is due to the universal employment of Cretans as mercenary bowmen. It cannot be called a good arrow-head, in spite of its heavy weight, which argues only a large shaft, not a powerful weapon. If the shaft is made of reed the arrow must be large, and a tang at this period indicates a reed shaft. Plato says that the Cretans were archers because the bow was light in weight and Crete was too hilly for

¹ *Tools and Weapons*, p. 35.

² *Olympia*, iv, p. 178.

³ I am indebted to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson for the numismatic details.

the use of heavy weapons.¹ Xenophon expressly states that his Cretans were outraged by the Persian archers.² The shape and size of the Cydonian bow are given by the coins (fig. 9): the archer Cydon is in the act of stringing a straight bow about four feet long. This is said to be an African form³; it was older and far less powerful than the small reflex horn or composite bow which most other Greeks and the Persians used. Only in its largest and most highly developed form, the mediæval English long-bow, could the straight bow claim superiority to the reflex bow, and that is doubtful.

The Cretan bow on the coins of Tylosos is shown in the hands of Apollo; its barbed arrow-head appears with the head of Apollo's goat on the coins of Hyrtacina, and is associated with the goat also on coins of Praisos. Sir Arthur Evans noticed long ago that when the Asiatic bow occurs on Cretan coins it is generally associated with Heracles, while Apollo is given the African form.⁴ The same observation has recently been made to me in regard to Greek coins generally by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, and by Mr. J. D. Beazley in Greek vase-painting. It was said in Greece that Apollo, inventor of the bow, had himself taught the Cretans archery.⁵ Here is probably the interpretation of the curious mark which one of our arrow-heads bears (fig. 7, no. 5). The mark is also on three from Egypt (one of iron and so probably of local make) at University College, London,⁶ and no doubt on many more elsewhere. At first one reads it as a ligature of B and E, but its explanation comes no nearer. To the numismatist, however, it is intelligible: Mr. G. F. Hill sees it as a tripod, and his suggestion is confirmed by comparison with the other examples, in one of which the legs are prolonged beyond the back stroke of the E, and the resemblance to a monogram is lost. The piece illustrated (fig. 7) is from Cnossos.

If the form of this arrow-head was modelled on a neolithic type, the patterns of the intervening Bronze Age should supply a connecting link between the two. But it cannot be said that Minoan bronze forms show the influence of bone prototypes. All Minoan and Mycenaean arrow-heads are flat. The commonest are the small barbed heads which are plainly copies of the obsidian and other stone points that were in use at the same time. There is also a larger type, still flat, but with a central rib, long tang, and barbs. Several of these were found at

¹ *Laws* i. 625 D.

² *Anabasis* iii. 3. 7.

³ C. J. Longman, *Archery* (Badminton Library), p. 74.

⁴ Quoted by C. J. Longman, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Diod. Sic.* v. 74.

⁶ Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xlii, nos. 200-2.

Ialysos in Rhodes,¹ and a similar form, but without barbs, was found there and in a tomb at Cnossos.² The unbarbed form is not unlike the flat-blade type from Marathon. The other bears a superficial likeness to our later Cretan arrow-head, but has no real similarity; it seems rather to have been developed from the simple bronze or stone point hafted on a wooden tang for insertion in a hollow reed shaft. But notwithstanding lack of other evidence, it is still possible that the type to which the Karlsruhe head belongs was copied from a neolithic form, for neolithic arrows were in common use during the Bronze Age, and the translation of an elaborate shape from bone to metal may have come later still. Whatever may have been its origin, it is certain that this group represents the *Cydonia spicula* which were thrown by the Cretan bow.

Mr. H. R. HALL emphasized the importance of identifying the arrow-head on Cretan coins as a classical Greek type; and the dating made one hesitate to accept Prof. Petrie's views with regard to specimens from Abydos, which had been published by him in a recent work, and classed as Ramessid. The ordinary Egyptian type was socketed with a flat leaf-shaped blade, later specimens of iron being tanged. In Greece bronze arrow-heads were still made in the classical period when iron was used for larger weapons; and in Egypt flint and hard wood were used for arrow-heads into the historic period. The earliest copper specimen in Egypt dated from the eleventh dynasty, whereas weapons retained in the hand were mounted with copper fifteen centuries earlier. The Persian arrow-heads from Marathon might well have the same origin as the Japanese, which were derived from China.

Mr. ARTHUR SMITH welcomed the collection of material dealing *de novo* with a well-defined subject, and found a romantic interest in the story of Marathon arrow-heads. It was not clear whether all the Persian troops used the same pattern; but types from remote parts of Asia could be easily explained by the presence in the Persian host of contingents from great distances.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH thought Marathon an excellent landmark for surveying the arrow-heads of classical times, and thought that Naucratis might help for the sixth century. He had been interested to see bone points on arrows from New Guinea, and recalled several of the same kind associated with a sword and shield in a warrior's grave of the Early Iron Age at Grimthorpe,

¹ British Museum Guide, *Greek and Roman Life*, ed. 2, fig. 98.

² A. J. Evans, *Archaeologia*, lxxv, p. 6, fig. 10, a and b.

E. R. Yorks., and hitherto regarded as borers. Admiral Brock's find of several patterns obviously contemporary at Marathon showed that considerable caution was necessary in typological studies. He inquired whether socket and tang were mutually exclusive, and if so, whether the preference for one or the other could be explained.

Dr. HILDBURGH suggested that the socket type might have originated in the wrapping of a thin sheet of metal round a wooden point. The swelling on some of the socketed points which Mr. Forsdyke derived tentatively from the use of sleeve-like points of bone could be equally well accounted for by the use of sleeve-like points of sheet-metal, while the wings of a socketed bronze point might have been derived from a sheet-metal point which had been hammered to cause it to approximate in form to the older stone points. He had seen conical sheet-metal points, made by the American Indians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from worn-out copper kettles obtained in trade with Europeans, and such metal points were found in the graves side by side with the customary silex points.

Mr. FORSDYKE replied that he had at first followed Professor Petrie in supposing that the tang was for use with a shaft of reed, and the socket for wood; but had later found that in bronze the socket was general, and iron specimens were tanged, or if socketed had the metal beaten over to form a split socket. The Cretan and Marathon groups no doubt were tanged because the shaft was of reed, but in Roman arrow-heads of iron, the tang was inserted in a split shaft and bound with thread.

The PRESIDENT said there was more than met the eye in the arrow-heads from Marathon. The paper once more illustrated the utility of ethnographical knowledge in archaeological work. The Japanese parallel opened up a wide field of research in Asia, and Sir Aurel Stein's discoveries in Turkestan might give assistance, as impressions of Greek gems had been found there on native letters. In tracing the connexion between Greece and China, it should be remembered that the Japanese derived their art from China about A.D. 500. Thanks were due to Mr. Forsdyke for a paper that was a contribution to Greek and Oriental history.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

ANNIVERSARY.

FRIDAY, 23rd APRIL 1920.

St. George's Day.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., President,
in the Chair.

William Dale, Esq., and Rev. J. K. Floyer were appointed
Scrutators of the Ballot.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1919-20
was read:

A report for the year which has witnessed the formal conclusion of peace must necessarily direct the attention of the Society to the prospects of a renewal of what may be called our normal activities. The Society is now free to devote its whole attention to the works of research and publication which were interrupted by the war, with, however, one important, indeed vital, reservation, that whereas our resources till now have been approximately adequate, they now fall far short of what is required of us.

This matter has been engaging the earnest attention of the Council, which has appointed a special committee to consider the whole question, and it is hoped that its report may be ready for presentation to the Fellows before the end of the present session. The financial position has already been brought before the Society at a meeting held in February, and the Treasurer's statement, published with the report of the Auditors, explains the general state of affairs. The appointment of this special committee, and the new start in the Society's activities that must be made now that the war is happily over, have provided a suitable occasion for considering the Statutes to see if any revision could advantageously be made in their form, and it is hoped that in the ensuing year proposals will be laid before you for your consideration and approval.

The work of research has already begun again with the important excavations at Stonehenge, undertaken under the supervision of Colonel Hawley, who will present an interim report on his work at the end of this session. In the matter of publications a new volume of *Archaeologia* is in the press and will shortly be issued, and it is hoped that the arrears in this publication, necessitated by its temporary suspension, will be rapidly made up.

The losses by death during the past year have again been below the average; but it may be doubted if, in recent years at any rate, the deaths of so many Fellows of an outstanding position in the archaeological world have had to be recorded at an anniversary meeting. The Council has noted with regret that the number of resignations has increased considerably, but this perhaps is only to be expected under the circumstances of the time.

The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:

ORDINARY FELLOWS.

Thomas Boynton. 1st November 1919. (Elected 1st March 1894.)

Major Arthur Meredyth Burke. 7th April 1920. (Elected 16th January 1913.)

Robert Burnard. 16th April 1920. (Elected 3rd June 1897.)

Sir Charles Edward Heley Chadwyck-Healey, Bart., K.C.B., K.C. 5th October 1919. (Elected 14th June 1900.)

John Diblee Crace. 18th November 1919. (Elected 13th January 1910.)

The Ven. William Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A., Archdeacon of Ely. 10th June 1919. (Elected 7th June 1917.)

Emanuel Green. 16th December 1919. (Elected 5th March 1885.)

Rev. Frederick Hancock, M.A. 7th January 1920. (Elected 4th March 1897.)

William John Hardy, M.A. 17th July 1919. (Elected 11th January 1883.)

*Professor Francis John Haverfield, M.A., LL.D. 1st October 1919. (Elected 5th March 1891.)

Professor Leonard William King, M.A., Litt.D. 20th August 1919. (Elected 9th June 1898.)

Sir Guy Francis Laking, Bart. 22nd November 1919. (Elected 12th January 1899.)

Professor Alexander Macalister, M.D., F.R.S. 2nd September 1919. (Elected 1st March 1888.)

*Alexander, Baron Peckover, LL.D. 21st October 1919. (Elected 7th June 1883.)

Samuel Perkins Pick. 23rd May 1919. (Elected 6th June 1918.)

Sir Edward John Poynter, Bart., K.C.V.O., R.A. 26th July 1919. (Elected 7th June 1894.)

Herbert George Radford. 19th March 1920. (Elected 6th March 1902.)

* Signifies Compounder.

Rev. Francis St. John Thackeray, M.A. 14th July 1919.
(Elected 10th January 1884.)

Edward Tristram. 23rd December 1919. (Elected 6th June 1912.)

Sir William Henry Weldon, K.C.V.O., Clarenceux. 25th August 1919. (Elected 13th June 1895.)

HONORARY FELLOW.

Antoine Héron de Villefosse. 15th June 1919. (Elected 17th June 1917.)

The following have been elected :

ORDINARY FELLOWS.

Sir William Ryland Dent Atkins, Knt., M.P.

Robin George Collingwood, M.A.

Ely Wilkinson Crossley, J.P.

Frederick Herbert Crossley.

Edward Guy Dawber.

Frederick Charles Eden.

Henry Walter Fincham.

Colonel Michael George Foster, O.B.E., M.A., M.D.

Richard Llewellyn Lloyd.

Lieut.-Colonel William Llewelyn Morgan, J.P., D.I.

Antonio Fernando de Navarro.

Arthur Percival Newton, M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc.

Rev. Salisbury James Murray Price, D.D.

Ernest Alfred Rawlence.

James Hall Renton.

Bernard Page Scattergood, M.A.

Walter Warren Seton, M.A., D.Lit.

Major Thomas Shepard.

Charles Singer, M.D., F.R.C.P.

Harry Tapley Soper, F.R.Hist.S.

Colonel Sir William Watts, K.C.B.

William Self Weeks.

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Professor James Henry Breasted.

Léon Coutil.

Professor Federico Halbherr.

Professor Paolo Orsi.

Professor Pierre Paris.

Professor Paul Perdrizet.

Dr. Haakon Shetelig.

Dr. Valerios Stais.

The following have resigned :

Herbrand Arthur, Duke of Bedford, K.G., F.R.S.

Alfred James Copeland.

John Walker Ford.

Hardinge Stanley, Earl of Halsbury, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Rev. Iorwerth Grey Lloyd, M.A.

Falconer Madan, M.A.

Sir William Blake Richmond, K.C.B., M.A., R.A.

Mr. THOMAS BOYNTON, who died in November at the advanced age of eighty-seven, was born in 1832. He was well known as a collector, having begun when he was but 23 years old. His tastes were catholic and included flint and bronze implements, birds, pottery, china, silver, and furniture, on all of which he became an acknowledged authority. From an archaeological point of view probably his most important work was the discovery of the Lake Dwelling at Ulrome in Holderness. This site, which he excavated in 1881, was not published until thirty years later, but the delay did not take away from its value and importance. Besides this contribution to *Archaeologia* he made several other communications to the Society, of which he had been one of the Local Secretaries for Yorkshire for many years. Many of his collections have now found a permanent home in the British Museum. As a volunteer he won the Wimbledon Cup in 1867.

Major ARTHUR MEREDYTH BURKE was the youngest son of the late Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms. He was especially interested in genealogical subjects and had done much useful work in the domain of parish registers, having issued a valuable guide to the parish registers of England and Wales as well as publishing the registers of St. Margaret's, Westminster. He was a Brevet-Major in the R.G.A., and during the war served for a short period as A.D.C. to G.O.C. 9th Army in France. He was invalided home, and when fit for light duty was given an appointment under the Director of Artillery at the War Office. Subsequently he dealt, under Sir Bertram Cubitt, K.C.B., Assistant Secretary, who had a high opinion of his abilities, with all matters relating to the Imperial War Museum (Army Side). He died of septic pneumonia after only a few days' illness.

He was elected a Fellow in 1913.

Mr. ROBERT BURNARD, who died in April at the age of seventy-two, was elected a Fellow in 1897, and since 1909 had been Local Secretary for Devonshire, in which capacity his advice had proved

of great assistance on several occasions. He was keenly interested in the antiquities of his county and was an active member and honorary secretary of the Dartmoor Preservation Association, having within the last few months been prominent in protesting against a scheme which would have seriously affected the amenities of that part of the county. He was a well-known member of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, had served on its council, and was its President at the Dartmouth meeting in 1911. He was also a member of committees appointed by that body for collecting facts relating to the barrows of Devonshire, for exploring Dartmoor and the camps in the county, and for preparing a list of its ancient monuments with a view to assisting in the administration of the Ancient Monuments Acts. In 1903 he read a paper before the Society on Late Celtic antiquities found at Tre'r Ceiri in North Wales, but does not appear to have made any other communications.

SIR CHARLES EDWARD HELEY CHADWYCK-HEALEY was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1900. An eminent lawyer, he took silk in 1891, was a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and Chancellor of the dioceses of Bath and Wells, Exeter and Salisbury. He was a Captain in the Royal Naval Reserve, and fitted out and commanded his yacht *Queen Alexandra* as a hospital ship during the war. He was also Chairman of the Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board. He was created a K.C.B. in 1909, and a baronet in 1919. He made no contributions to the Society's Proceedings, but served on the Council in 1913. He was born in 1845.

MR. JOHN DIBLEE CRACE died in November at the age of eighty-one. He was a standing example of the influence of heredity, having been the fifth in direct descent of the members of his family who worked at the art of decoration, and the third who had been Master of the Painter Stainers' Company, a position held by his father and his grandfather. In his early years he travelled in the Near East, and this circumstance certainly influenced his art to a great extent. Amongst his public works were the decoration of parts of the National Gallery, of the Leeds Town Hall, and of the Indian Room at the Imperial Institute.

As an archaeologist his interests lay especially in Palestine. He joined the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1869 and for many years served on its council and acted as its Honorary Secretary, a post, in fact, which he was holding at the time of his death. He made no contributions to the Proceedings of the Society, but served on the Council in 1915 and was an assiduous attendant at the ordinary meetings until blindness limited his activities.

Archdeacon WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM had only been a Fellow of the Society for two years and had therefore had little or no opportunity of taking any active part in its affairs beyond acting as Local Secretary for Cambridgeshire. He was born in 1849, and was educated at Edinburgh and at Caius and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge. He was at one time or another Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Honorary Canon of Ely, Proctor in Convocation, Honorary Fellow of Caius, Fellow of Trinity, Hulsean Lecturer, Archdeacon of Ely, and President of the Royal Historical Society. As a student of, and writer on, economic subjects he had a world-wide reputation, his most important work being the *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, but he also wrote on the *Rise and Decline of Free Trade*, and on the *Use and Abuse of Money* amongst other works on economics. In the domain of Theological studies, he wrote on *St. Austin and his place in the history of Christian Thought*.

The Reverend FREDERICK HANCOCK, Treasurer and Prebendary of Wells Cathedral, was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1897, but never took any part in its affairs or contributed to its Proceedings. His published writings included histories of several Somerset parishes and of Dunster Church and Priory.

The death of Mr. WILLIAM JOHN HARDY came as a severe blow to his many friends in the Society, of which he had been elected a Fellow in 1883. Born in 1857, he was the son of Sir William Hardy and nephew of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, both deputy keepers of the Public Records. With such a family tradition it is not surprising that his tastes led him to similar work. He edited some of the calendars of State Papers, and in collaboration with the present Dean of Gloucester published in 1896 *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, a work comparable with the *Select Charters* of the late Bishop Stubbs. He was also an authority on postage stamps and book plates, on both of which he wrote monographs, and edited *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries*, and the first five volumes of the *Home Counties Magazine*. He was a very active Fellow of the Society, serving on the Council on many occasions and making numerous contributions to *Archaeologia* and *Proceedings*, and was also Local Secretary for Hertfordshire. In recognition of his valuable historical work the University of Durham made him an Honorary M.A. in 1909.

It is impossible in this report to do justice to the manifold activities of Professor FRANCIS JOHN HAVERFIELD. Born in 1860, he was educated at Winchester and New College, was senior

Censor, Student, Tutor, and Librarian of Christ Church, Rhind Lecturer at Edinburgh, Ford Lecturer at Oxford, Visitor of the Ashmolean Museum, Member of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for England and of the Advisory Board for England under the Ancient Monuments Act, and, on his election as Camden Professor of Ancient History in 1907, Fellow of Brasenose College. He was founder and first President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

As a student of, and writer on, Roman antiquities, he soon established his reputation. Before his return to Oxford as Student of Christ Church, he had been entrusted by Mommsen with the British portion of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and he soon was recognized as a first authority on Epigraphy and Roman matters generally. On his election to the Camden Professorship, he set himself especially to stimulate the study of Romano-British subjects. He was keenly interested in all excavations of Romano-British sites and took an active part in the excavation of Corstopitum. His publications included *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, *Ancient Town Planning*, besides many papers in learned and scientific journals and articles in the *Victoria County History*, and at the time of his death he was planning, and had in fact begun, a new edition of the seventh, the British, volume of the *Corpus*. He bequeathed his estate, subject to certain interests, to the University of Oxford, to further Romano-British studies.

He made numerous contributions, ranging from inscribed tiles to the date of 'Tom' Quad at Christ Church, to the Society's *Proceedings* and to *Archaeologia*, his last, on *Roman Cirencester*, read in 1917, being on the point of publication. He served on the Council on several occasions, was a Local Secretary for Oxfordshire, a member of the Research Committee, and had been a Vice-President. He was elected a Fellow in 1891.

The death of Professor LEONARD WILLIAM KING has removed one of the foremost authorities in Europe on the archaeology of Mesopotamia. Born in 1869, he was educated at Rugby and King's College, Cambridge, and became an assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum soon after taking his degree. Here he worked with characteristic energy at editing texts and carrying out the ordinary duties of his post, and in 1903 he went to Nineveh, excavating that site with important results on behalf of the British Museum. Two years previously he had made a journey to the East, inspecting the mounds of Nineveh with a view to their exploration, and, during the excavation which resulted from his report, he took the opportunity of collecting rock inscriptions

in Assyria, Persia, and Kurdistan, and of making a fresh copy of the inscription of Darius on the rock face at Behistun. His earliest published work was *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, followed by *Letters of Hammurabi*, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, and many others. At the time of his death he was engaged on a monumental history of Babylonia, two volumes of which have already appeared. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1898 and had served on the Council. He was also a Litt.D. of Cambridge, Professor of Assyriology at King's College, London, Chairman of the Council of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Assistant Keeper of his department in the British Museum.

SIR GUY FRANCIS LAKING, second baronet, who died in November at the early age of forty-four, was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1899. Interested in art from boyhood, it was as an authority on armour and arms that he was best known. He was appointed Keeper of the King's Armouries by King Edward VII, and his catalogues of the royal collections and of the armour in the Wallace collection at Hertford House are considered by experts to be models of what such catalogues should be. For many years he had been engaged in writing a monumental work on European Arms and Armour, the manuscript of which he had completed; but he did not live to see it published, the first volume being issued shortly after his death. Of late years he had come much before the public eye as the first Director and Secretary of the London Museum, into the organization of which, first at Kensington Palace and afterwards at Lancaster House, he threw himself with unbounded energy, and that Museum will ever be a monument of his zeal and enthusiasm. He never took a very active part in the affairs of the Society, but communicated papers on several occasions and also took part in the display of fence at a meeting of the Society some twenty years ago.

Professor ALEXANDER MACALISTER, F.R.S., who was elected a Fellow in 1888, was best known as an anthropologist and anatomist. Born in 1844, he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and held successively the posts of Professor of Zoology and Professor of Anatomy in that University. In 1883 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge, becoming a Fellow of St. John's College, and this position he held until his death. He was a prominent member of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, of which he had been President, and he also found time to write on the *Evolution of Church History*, besides standard works on Anatomy and Morphology. He does not appear ever to have taken any part in the affairs of the Society.

ALEXANDER PECKOVER, first BARON PECKOVER of WISBECH, who died in October at the age of eighty-nine, was best known as a banker, having been for some years a partner in the firm of Gurney, Birkbeck, Peckover & Co., which was latterly merged in Barclay's Bank. He was a great collector of books, maps, and manuscripts, especially of Greek manuscripts of the Bible, one of which, dated about 1100, he exhibited to the Society in 1886. He acted as Local Secretary for Cambridgeshire for many years, but beyond this he does not appear to have taken any part in the Society's affairs. He was elected a Fellow in 1883.

Mr. SAMUEL PERKINS PICK, who died in May, was only elected in the previous June, so that he had been a Fellow for less than a year, and consequently had had no opportunity of taking any part in the Society's Proceedings. He was well known as an architect, especially in the Midlands, and did much important work in Leicester where he practised. He had been a Vice-President of the R.I.B.A. He had a profound knowledge of medieval church architecture and was an active member of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society.

Sir EDWARD POYNTER, who was elected a Fellow in 1894, was the seventh President of the Royal Academy to be a Fellow of the Society. The son of Ambrose Poynter, the architect, and great-grandson of Thomas Banks, the sculptor, he early exhibited an interest in art, and the architectural settings of many of his pictures may well be due to inherited influences. His early paintings all showed an archaeological tendency, his subjects being drawn from ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. But much of his early work was of a decorative nature, including wall paintings for the South Kensington Museum, the Houses of Parliament, and St. Paul's Cathedral, while the decoration of the roof of Waltham Abbey Church was also his work. He was Director of the National Gallery from 1894 to 1905, and was elected an A.R.A. in 1869, R.A. in 1876, and President in succession to Millais in 1896, a position from which he retired a few weeks only before his death in July. He was born in 1836.

The Rev. FRANCIS St. JOHN THACKERAY was elected a Fellow in 1884. He was a first cousin of William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist, and for twenty-five years was a master at Eton, leaving the school in 1883 for the living of Mapledurham, near Reading, which he held until his death at the age of eighty-six. He wrote several books on classical subjects and also a memoir of Dr. Hawtrey.

Mr. EDWARD TRISTRAM was elected a Fellow in 1912 and was Local Secretary for Derbyshire. He was a prominent member of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society and a member of its Council.

Sir WILLIAM HENRY WELDON, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, was elected a Fellow in 1895. Born in 1837, he was educated at Harrow and served for some time in the 18th Hussars. He joined the Herald's College in 1870, holding successively the offices of Rouge Dragon, Windsor Herald, Norroy King-of-Arms, and lastly Clarenceux King-of-Arms, to which post he was appointed in 1911 on the death of Mr. Cokayne. He was acting Garter at the funeral of Queen Victoria and at the coronation of King Edward, and was knighted and made a K.C.V.O. in 1919.

M. ANTOINE HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, who was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Society in 1917, was born in 1845. In 1869 he entered the Louvre Museum as an assistant, and in 1871 received the Legion of Honour for his devotion to duty in guarding the Museum's treasures during the siege of Paris. In 1881 he was appointed Assistant Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, becoming Keeper in 1886. He was a member of the Institute of France, being elected to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres in 1886, succeeding Émile Egger, and was twice president of that Academy. He was also Director of the École des Hautes Études, and Professor of Latin epigraphy, member of the Commission on Historic Monuments, and an honorary member of the Society of Antiquaries of France. Much of his archaeological work was done amongst the Roman remains of North Africa, his first excavations there being conducted in 1873. He wrote largely on the subject of Roman and Gallo-Roman antiquities, his most important work probably being his description of the Boscoreale silver treasure which he had acquired for the Louvre in 1895. He also wrote on silver treasures found in Gaul, on Roman mosaics and statues, and on oculists' stamps.

Although the Society has already had an opportunity of recording its regret, the Council cannot pass over in silence the death of Sir WILLIAM HENRY ST. JOHN HOPE, who for twenty-five years had been the Assistant Secretary of the Society, and from the nature of his office was probably better known to the Fellows than any of those whose deaths the Council has to record. Born in 1854, he was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and, while still an undergraduate, began his archaeological career, the materials for his papers on the heraldry and the seals of the University and its Colleges being collected while he was still in

residence. For a short time he was a master at Rochester School, the time there being occupied archaeologically with his monograph on the Cathedral; but in 1885 he left Rochester on his appointment as Assistant Secretary to the Society, an appointment which necessitated his resignation of his fellowship to which he had been elected in 1883. From the date of his election until his death papers by him have appeared annually, with but one exception, in *Archæologia*, and the *Proceedings* of the Society, while the *Archæological Journal* and the transactions of local archaeological societies also bear witness to his manifold activities. Nor were these activities merely literary. He superintended or took part in the excavation of Silchester, of Fountains Abbey, and many other monastic houses, such as St. Austin's, Canterbury, and of Old Sarum, on all of which he published papers or monographs. There were, in fact, few subjects dealing with medieval archaeology on which he did not make himself an authority, and the wide range of his interests may be judged from the fact that among his published writings were books on the Stall plates of the Knights of the Garter, on Corporation Plate, on Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury, on English altars, and on the English liturgical colours. Several monographs on castles also appeared from his pen, culminating in his great book on Windsor Castle which was published in 1912. Shortly after the publication of this work he received the honour of knighthood. Among works which he left unfinished or unpublished were books on Cowdray House and on the Charterhouse.

He resigned his position of Assistant Secretary in 1910, but continued until within a few months of his death to be a regular attendant at the Society's meetings and a constant reader in the library.

On the motion of the President the Report was received and adopted.

The TREASURER made a statement with regard to the financial position of the Society, and presented his accounts.

On the motion of the President the accounts were received and adopted.

The Scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected as Officers and Council for the ensuing year :

Eleven Members from the Old Council.

Sir Charles Hercules Read, Knt., LL.D. *President.*

William Minet, Esq., M.A., *Treasurer.*

Sir Edward William Brabrook, Knt., C.B., *Director.*

Charles Reed Peers, Esq., M.A., *Secretary*.
Sir William Martin Conway, Knt., M.A., M.P.
Vernon Bryan Crowther-Beynon, Esq., M.A.
Lieut.-Colonel George Babington Croft Lyons.
John Emanuel Pritchard, Esq.
Horace William Sandars, Esq.
Reginald Campbell Thompson, Esq., M.A.
William Howard Aymer Vallance, Esq., M.A.

Ten Members of the New Council.

Harry Reginald Holland Hall, Esq., M.A.
Wilfrid James Hemp, Esq.
Arthur Frederick Hill, Esq.
Charles Hilary Jenkinson, Esq., B.A.
Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew Ingle Joyce, Knt.
Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, Esq., M.A.
Professor John Linton Myres, M.A.
Walter Henry, Baron Northbourne, M.A.
Professor Edward Prior, M.A., A.R.A.
Major George Trevor Harley Thomas.

Thanks were voted to the Scrutators for their trouble.

The Meeting was then adjourned until 8.30 p.m., when the President returned thanks for his election and announced that he had appointed Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, Esq., M.A., to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Major Thomas Shepard was admitted a Fellow.

The PRESIDENT then proceeded to deliver the following address:

It is a true saying that those who live through great events find it a hard thing to maintain a true perspective. The human mind is in this like the photographic lens; without careful and experienced adjustment the small and trifling details of the foreground obscure or blot out the real and important features of the view, and the result is in both cases the same. The proportion between great and small is not truly shown, the great becoming small, and the small great.

In no circumstances is this inversion more clearly seen than when the events have a personal bearing. Here the victim has an intimate and close knowledge of his own circumstances and conditions, and sees clearly where the blows that cosmic disturbances are developing are likely to fall, and strike him down. His own welfare is too personal, too near, and too precious for him to be able to focus his mind on the catastrophe as a great

unity, and to see it in its true relation to himself. At no time, for a century at least, has this condition of mind been so often seen as of late. It has appeared daily in the newspapers, in the magazines, in Parliament and in conversation; a form of egoism that, as egoism merely, would be of no great hurt to the public economy. But the serious side of this inversion of values is that the importance of the really great things is so incredibly reduced as to be nearly invisible while the ego fills the bulk of the picture.

Reflections such as these, in themselves perilously near to truisms, must have drifted through the mind of every one during the last few years. We are not used to war, nor is any one, on the scale of the great conflict of ideals that is now ending. Each and all of the combatants hurl allegations of motive against their adversaries, as in all quarrels in every age. England, as well as others, has set out her motives for intervention, and we, being of English race, are likely to know how near to the truth these are, issuing as they do from political lips, and are for the same reason, perhaps, apt to judge leniently.

Motives are never unmixed, no matter how high our virtue or how clean the record, and it will hardly be claimed that England's motives for taking a leading part in the Great War could be defined by any one word. Broadly stated, however, it may be said that the bulk of the English people would have said that they fought to safeguard civilization and their liberties. They had seen, or rather felt, for years, that Germany's ambition abroad was to dominate the world; that wealth and material prosperity were her only gods at home, that might should be right, and thus logically, that her domination of the universe would inevitably end in making a world where material success, riches, and the resulting power, would exclude from the governance of the world all the finer qualities of man's soul and intellect. I do not think this is an exaggerated picture; that it was, and no doubt is still, deeply rooted in modern Germany, is proved beyond cavil by the fact that the utterances of the whole learned world in Germany formed a harmonious chorus to the German government in this statement of their case. It is hard to imagine the degradation of the modern world had such a policy succeeded, and Englishmen may take no small pride in feeling that they and their kin made as great sacrifices as any other nation to bring it to naught and to save the world for the sane and the clean.

All this I believe to be true, but the problem has other aspects, and some of them it may be fruitful for us to examine. I think it will not be questioned that the originating cause of Germany's insensate ambition lay in her overwhelming

success in 1870. Had that been less complete, her claws would never have grown so long or so sharp. The heady wine of victory was too strong a drink for the race, and, as a nation, they fell down and worshipped the golden calf of success. We are the victors this time, and though no doubt victory has its perils, even with us, it is impossible to think that they are of the same type as those which have been so fatal to the Teutonic soul. The wildest of our imperialists hardly desires to rule the world; but what he is apt to believe and act upon, though he may not say it, is that the material success of the British race should be the chief end and only goal of our efforts. It is here, in my judgement, that we can learn, and learn much, from the enemy. I have nothing to say against the expansion of British trade, nor should we object to German trade taking the same lines. It is only when it is deified as man's sole and only worthy aim that it becomes a danger, not so much to the rest of the world as to ourselves. Let us say what we may against the German citizen, it must be confessed that he was, in the main, a patriot. A patriotism that involved the subservience of all other nations, probably, and thus mistaken in form; but his war-cry was not mere verbiage. He meant it to the full, and, during twenty years past, has thrust it aggressively before every other nation. This patriotism took, all the same, other and pleasanter forms, though equally they may have been dictated by his governors. And here I take leave to become retrospective.

I well remember my first visit to Berlin in the year 1875. A fairly large provincial town, with all its appurtenances of a thoroughly provincial type. A national gallery overstocked with sanguinary pictures of German successes in the then recent war, with few exceptions contemptible as art; modest little old-world museums with the most primitive environment, officered by queerly clad directors, and younger assistants looking prematurely old, the whole atmosphere that of a leisurely country town. All these worthy people were studious and some of them learned. Some of them probably survive; but under what changed conditions up to 1914. The Berlin of the early years of this century was indeed another story, both for good and evil. Material success had bloomed into the poisonous flower of insensate luxury and extravagance, bestial, degrading, and in evil taste. But there was another and a better side to the picture. At the same time the wealth and patriotism of the citizens had provided the capital with astounding riches in its museums, with groups of learned societies and technical institutes that amply proved that no small part of the country's wealth had been spent on things not only of permanent value, but in directions that lay beyond mere sensual gratification.

Berlin had the largest ethnographical collections in the world, even I think before she had a single colony; with only a few square miles of eastern territory she had both an oriental institute and a flourishing oriental journal; with a native art where vigour took the place of beauty, she rooted herself in Italy, and built at home the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. At infinite pains and with unremitting labour she exploited the art treasures of all countries, India, Greece, Egypt, China, and England not least or last, and was more often than not the last bidder at the auctions of London and Paris. Thus she has possessed herself of treasures that only the wildest anarchy would damage, and this in the short space of forty years. If we in England had shown the same energy in these eminently practical directions, nothing would need to be said, in spite of the fact that our opportunities have been immeasurably greater. But our warmest admirers could hardly maintain that we have been other than apathetic.

It is not really material to the issue whether the energy shown in Berlin is true patriotism of the individual, whether he has been urged thereto by the hope of reward, or whether the whole thing is due to government incentive. As I said before, motives are seldom unmixed, and to get a good work done is a substantive achievement; do not let us question too much the motive of the doer.

While, therefore, the prosperous Teuton gorges himself with reckless self-indulgence on the one hand, destroying his figure and creating a special line of disease of his internal functions, yet, on the other, he has at the same time been a successful competitor in the world of art and archaeology, and with a dogged perseverance has gathered around him some of the choicest treasures of his less energetic contemporaries. It may be that this sounds discursive and without purpose, but it has an application, and one that I venture to think of great and urgent importance.

One of the most obvious and far-reaching results of the War in one direction has been the readjustment of territory in the Near East, a process still incomplete and full of difficulty. It will doubtless be some time yet before the responsibilities of the allies and of the United States in relation to these countries is made really clear. But experience and probability both point to England as likely to be called upon to shoulder a good part of this burden. In that case much work will be thrown, not only on the government and people of this country, but our Society and others dealing with similar matters will be expected to do their share.

Before learned societies can usefully enter the field, the anarchy of Turkish misrule must be replaced by decent ad-

ministration, an undertaking that will task the resources of the most capable of the powers, and the brain reels at its infinite complexity. Whoever may be entrusted with the cleansing of the former Turkish provinces, it is one essential preliminary to antiquarian research, and archaeology must wait upon diplomacy and administration.

It will not be amiss to glance at our capacity for an undertaking of the kind, and at the same time to inquire what the policy of our government is likely to be in such an endeavour. For we cannot hope to take the position that should be ours without approval from our own government, even if we get nothing of a more substantial kind.

I have some experience on this latter point, and by an odd chance I have become personally enmeshed in the complicated programme of archaeological exploration in the lands now permanently sundered from the Turkish empire. The conduct of exploration in these territories has always in past times been the subject of chicanery and artifice, and hardly ever has such work been free from corruption and bribery, as the stories of our own people, from the earliest to the very latest, sufficiently show. I was involuntarily brought into practical association with the future organization of research by a chance visit in the autumn of 1918 from our Fellow, Captain Randall MacIver, fresh from Salonica and with his head full both of the treasure to be gathered on the ancient sites of the district and of the unusual energy and resource of our allies in staking out claims. It seemed to me that prompt action was called for, and taking counsel with my friend and colleague Mr. George Hill, we devised a scheme for approaching the government to regularize research by inviting the co-operation of all the learned societies in this country to endorse a resolution which should demonstrate that England was ready and prepared to do her part in dealing with the new fields of discovery in the Near East. This was to be presented to our Foreign Minister by Viscount Bryce, who, however, finally suggested that, as the British Academy had already obtained a hearing in the matter of the institute at Jerusalem, it might not be amiss if our much broader enterprise were joined to that of the Academy. As this promising channel of communication with the government was already in existence, Mr. Hill and I thought well to close with Lord Bryce's suggestion, and the conduct of the business carried out on the lines we had laid down is now under the auspices of the British Academy. Thus, out of so small a beginning, has arisen a formidable Joint Archaeological Committee, of a thoroughly representative character, which has not only reviewed all the actual conditions of the Turkish dominions and of Egypt in

relation to archaeology, but has also drawn up codes of laws for the several districts or countries. These were forwarded from time to time to the Peace Conference in Paris, and have by that body been incorporated in the terms of peace.¹ Thus, whatever may be the final outcome of our action, what has been done demonstrates that this country has not been idle in the pursuit of knowledge, and that no inconsiderable number of people in England is interested in the future of archaeology.

My chief purpose in the recital of this story is to publish abroad the fact that a solid foundation has been laid, and recognized by the powers, upon which English workers can erect a grand superstructure of ever-increasing knowledge. It is for us, and for others like us, to see to it that what has already been done is not allowed to pass into oblivion, but that, as occasion offers, every advantage is taken of the openings already provided.

At this point it may be well to consider the means at hand by which we can use these opportunities. The British Museum naturally occurs to the mind as the one institution, archaeological in its aims, that should take the lead. But any display of such energy by the museum authorities naturally connotes government support and government grants. How the Treasury or the Foreign Office is likely to regard such a demand I will review later. But now, I will only say that unless a change of heart takes place in both of these departments, or great pressure is laid upon them, there is but little chance of the British Museum taking a leading place in exploration. The universities in a way have a better chance. They can at times command money from private sources with more freedom than is possible for a great national institution such as the British Museum, and some of them have already organization for research, of which they have made excellent use. It has not been the fashion with our provincial museums to devote themselves greatly to increasing their possessions by direct means of this kind. But it would assuredly not be amiss for some of them to turn their energies in that direction. Now is a promising time, and it would well become a group of the wealthy men of our great northern or midland towns to subsidize an expedition, say to Mesopotamia, and add to the fame and the riches of their native city while laying bare for themselves and for the world the secrets of the history and the crafts of the ancient world. What can be done with limited time and but little money was seen in this room a few months ago, when Mr. Hall laid before us his astonishing finds at Ur of the Chaldees. What possibilities there are if only such a man as he could be adequately subsidized

¹ I fear this is too absolute a statement ; but it expresses, at any rate, our confident hope.

for a few years' work in such a country, and how insignificant is the total sum required when one hears of the colossal fortunes that have been made during the last few years. 'Endowment of research' is one of the catchwords of our time; but how little does it refer to research into the past history of this wonderful world of ours. Research of any kind is worthy of man's best energies; but the profit resulting from the particular kind that we favour is not so immediate or so obvious as to compete with research in the problems of natural science. But it can safely be said that only from great masses of archaeological material can deductions be made of any great and certain value, and in such material, collected systematically, this country is disgracefully poor. Splendid masterpieces of ancient art, such as the Parthenon marbles, stand in magnificent isolation in our great museums. They receive and deserve our unstinted admiration and respect, and give us a faint idea of the glory of ancient Greece. But they not only tell us nothing of the life of the normal Greek in his greatest period, but in that respect are even misleading. The ordinary British sight-seer passing by the ranks of the finest Greek vases doubtless believes that every household in that favoured land was furnished with such rows of similar vases, and that at his death the normal Greek citizen was entombed with an exquisite white-grounded lekythus. We know it cannot have been so, but our museums are very apt to give that impression. What in fact is, I think, a national tendency, is reflected in our public institutions. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the taste, and the wealth, of our private collectors had led them to select only the rare, the choice, and the costly, from among the products of art. The collecting of such things was the rich man's amusement, and he was content when he had secured the finest of its kind. The simple ordinary productions of the time and country were beneath his notice, though it need hardly be said, it is only by the study of the commonplace remains of any country that its real history can be grasped or understood. Just as the bulk of a nation is inevitably commonplace, and in fact constitutes the nation, so to specialize only in its masterpieces is to get an erroneous notion of its art.

This eclecticism of the British collector in the past is, I think, reflected and retained to far too great an extent in our public collections. In sheer pleasure of the eye we are probably greatly the gainers, and our sensuous emotions are doubtless more vividly stirred, but however the eye may be gratified, the mind demands more than this. It is to deal with us in the manner of the old history books, that recited only the deeds of kings and nobles, neglectful of the acts and lives of the people. To pursue this theme, however, leads us too far afield for my immediate purpose.

But we English are not by nature systematic, and it is well to know one's failings.

If in the prosecution of archaeological research by English hands we look beyond the great museums and the universities, we come next to the groups of scholars who combine to form our learned societies, and here again we encounter the familiar difficulties, want of funds and the need for government support. So far as our Society is concerned, we cannot of recent years make any substantial complaint of want of recognition by the government. By various means we have gained the confidence of the great departments with whom we deal in matters connected with archaeology at home, and that is, after all, our first business. But after our recent discussions on the finances of the Society, I need not enlarge upon our powerlessness to undertake any extension of our liabilities in regard to research. To most of us it is equally common knowledge that practically all other societies are in like case. We have, in fact, greater advantages than any other archaeological body in the country, and it behoves us not to forget that our responsibilities are thus the greater. The British School at Athens, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and the Roman Society, on the classical side, are all doing admirable work in their own fields, and the same may be said of the Egypt Exploration Society, which is practically alone in the study of Egyptian archaeology, with the exception of the Egyptian Research Account, and the Egyptian wing of the Liverpool University, both of which perform useful functions. But to none of these bodies can we look with confidence to undertake any very costly undertakings, especially if no tangible results can be shown for a couple of years, which is very likely to be the case in a large exploration. Thus, as I hinted before, we are thrown back upon government support, and let us see the line the government is likely to take in the event of such a demand. A recent and modern instance will suffice.

In my first address to the Society as President, now exactly eleven years ago, I took advantage of a recent visit to Egypt to give the Society the fruits of my experiences there, and spoke somewhat strongly of the want of organization of English work there, and of the grave loss to our national collections that was the natural consequence.

One recent loss of the kind will serve to point the moral better than any argument, and furnishes proof that there is something radically defective in our system. A recent supplement to the monthly bulletin of the New York Metropolitan Museum is devoted to the summary publication of a find of exquisite Egyptian jewellery from Lahun, similar to the magni-

ficient series from Dahshur now in the Cairo Museum. The account states that this jewellery was purchased from Professor Flinders Petrie, by whose expedition it was found in Egypt before the War, but that owing to the danger of transport it had only now been received in New York. As far as my knowledge goes, no jewellery of this type is to be found in any of our English museums, and it is not therefore a question of disposing of duplicates, and any one who has seen the Dahshur jewellery or that now in question will realize what we have lost by the sale of such a series to another country. Whatever may have been the reason for the sale, the transaction assuredly calls for an explanation. It may be claimed that it was demanded by the needs of future excavations, but in that case it would have to be shown that these needs could not be supplied at home. For only in default of an English purchaser would it be legitimate to sell such treasures out of the country by whose efforts, and presumably with whose money, they were unearthed and brought here. Whatever explanation may be forthcoming, and up to the present I have heard of none, the fact that such a transaction can have taken place emphasizes better than any words of mine, what I have been urging for many years, that the English system of exploration in Egypt is lamentably deficient, and tends rather to enrich other countries than our own.

I have pleaded for some kind of co-operation among the diggers on the ground that union would be strength, financially and archaeologically, and more so perhaps in Egypt than elsewhere, and I alluded to the very singular arrangement by which the head of the Service of Antiquities must always be a Frenchman. Singular, and unpractical, as this latter plan is, it would seem that the French nation regards it with such devotion that on our side we dare not suggest a change, at least at present. In regard to this, and to all the other strictures I ventured to make in 1909, there is no change whatever, in spite of the fact that the Central Empires are for the present out of the competition, and that Egypt has become a protectorate, and has ceased to belong to the Turkish empire. Now, however, that the War had practically come to an end, and bearing in mind the importance of consolidating the interests of English archaeology in Egypt, it seemed to the Egypt Exploration Society a fitting thing to propose, and the right moment to propose it, that a British Institute of Archaeology in Egypt should be established. When one considers on the one hand the vast importance of Egypt in almost every problem of early archaeology, and on the other the material debt, even more vast, that Egypt owes to England, it is without question remarkable, and one would think, unwise, that we have no kind of organization

in the country to which Englishmen can appeal except a polyglot committee under the control of a foreigner, albeit a native of an allied nation. Is such a state of things conceivable if the conditions were reversed? It is of course quite inconceivable, and I am convinced, if Egypt were under the control of any nation whatever, as it is under ours, that the controlling nation would without any question reserve to itself the choice of any site and the right to retain any group of antiquities that might be found. We do not, however, ask for any such privileges, right or wrong; but only that there should be in Egypt an Institute representing British archaeology. A request to this effect was presented to the Treasury last year and met with an unqualified refusal, owing to the 'critical condition of the national finances'. It would undoubtedly seem, to be sure, that the national finances are in a critical state enough, but assuredly not from causes such as the foundation of scientific institutes. Such foundations are productive of great results, and I am ready to guarantee that in thirty years time or even less, it will not be so much the leisured classes who will hurl reproaches at the government of our day for a short-sighted policy of inactivity in directions such as this. It will be the working-man, so called, who will take action when he discovers that what he justly considers to be his rightful heritage has passed into the museums of other countries, and that to understand the story of the great empires of the past he has to depend upon casts from Berlin or New York. Governments of recent years seem to be increasingly opportunist and incapable of taking long views, and policy, instead of being founded upon conviction and settled principles, is rather treated as a game of roulette, and action is taken by the number on which the ball finally rests.

There is another aspect of the duties of the British government towards countries under its dominion that must not be overlooked. This is a tendency on the part of the home administration unduly to pander to the avarice of the natives of our dependencies by allowing the native legislatures to pass laws forbidding the export of ancient remains, and at times denouncing any exploration by other than native diggers. This is already the case in Cyprus, and the results are most mischievous. One effect is self-evident, that is to say that whenever any antiquities are discovered either by chance or by surreptitious search, they are never brought to England, but naturally drift to museums or collections elsewhere, usually with a false history, and archaeology is thus a serious loser. Drastic laws of the kind, moreover, inevitably deter the best equipped explorers, who prefer to work elsewhere under more

generous conditions. The local museum may and generally does obtain a fair proportion of the remains unearthed, but a more liberal policy such as has been found in Egypt hitherto, is of much greater advantage to science. The majority of the men who work there are honest and competent, so that the relics in the Cairo museum from sites explored by foreigners are of infinitely greater value from being provided with all details of their finding, and knowledge is increased by the opportunity provided in other countries for study of the remaining portion. With regard to Cyprus, a classic instance is provided by the splendid silver treasure from that island bought by the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan with entire impunity and now safely housed in New York, while I was told that if I bought it, or even accepted it as a gift, for the British Museum, it would be claimed by the government on behalf of the museum at Nicosia. This was, of course, a supreme instance of official absurdity, but none the less it effectually prevented me from securing the treasure on any terms. I think it well to recall this scrap of rather ancient history inasmuch as there is evidence of a strong desire in administrative circles to extend this same fatal policy, and to pass anti-export laws in India and even in Mesopotamia. So far as India is concerned there is already a regulation enacting that before any object of antiquity can come, say to the British Museum, it must be offered to and refused by every museum in India. This refers chiefly to antiquities officially unearthed, but some of the native dealers have been warned that they should not send any antiquities out of the country. Dealers in antiquities are much the same everywhere, but in India they are mostly orientals in addition, and for the Indian authorities to imagine that a ukase of this kind will be effective with the astute and subtle gentlemen at such a centre as Rawalpindi is to lean upon a very weak staff. That they will not dispatch their choicest treasures to the British Museum is highly probable, but it is vastly more certain that they will not be content with the restricted home market and its inadequate prices, but will discover devious routes to the collections of the wealthy non-British buyer. This is, of course, certain. What is equally certain, though not so obvious, is that by retaining all objects found in India in the country, learning will suffer severely, and the development of archaeology will be retarded to an unknown degree. To instance only one aspect of this very wide subject. A very large proportion of the more ancient remains in India are of Buddhist origin—a religion extinct within its borders for a thousand years. Its artistic manifestations are cordially hated by the Mussulman natives,

and about equally disliked by the Hindu. The former certainly is from religious instinct almost forced to destroy any that he may encounter. For whom then are the local museums to be filled with the remains of the gorgeous Buddhist shrines or temples of two thousand years ago? Another point is the generally accepted axiom that the past history of any art cannot be usefully studied in a parochial spirit; that the comparative method is the only sound one if the searcher is to arrive at any useful conclusion. Thus, so far as India is concerned, it is one of two things. Either India must provide herself with museums of general archaeology, or other countries, already so provided, must possess a reasonable proportion of Indian archaeology. That Indian archaeology is not more a unity than is her population has been proved to demonstration by the discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein in eastern Turkestan. So simple a proposition hardly needed proof, but his finds in the central Asian desert, showing a mixture of Greek, Chinese, and every kind of Asiatic culture, provides an argument of the most convincing kind against what I call the parochial method of dealing with archaeology that is now in vogue under our administration in India.

Whatever may be the value of the museums in India to the native population, it must nevertheless be admitted that the museums exist, and in many instances are well conducted, though perhaps hardly efficiently staffed. But if this fatal system is to be extended to Mesopotamia, at present under Indian direction, we come again to an official absurdity. There is nothing like a museum in the whole of the country, and I venture to say no sign of the faintest kind that any native of the country wants such a thing. Again one feels that the future of the country is most uncertain. It may well be subjected, within the next half century or more, to some revolution that would delight in destroying, with true Muslim zeal, every work of art that had been gathered together in some establishment in Baghdad by the care of the English infidels. The antiquities of Mesopotamia are of many ages and of many kinds, some of them only just now brought to our knowledge; but it is certain that the more ancient and to us the more interesting belong to a class that here, as in India, is loathed by the orthodox Muslim. Regarded dispassionately, therefore, it is very certain that to introduce an anti-export law for antiquities into Mesopotamia would not be only unscientific but would be an act of grave unwisdom. Laws to govern research there should and must be, but let them only be severe upon dishonesty or incompetence, and not be dictated by a feeling of abstract justice to demands or rights that have no real existence, but germinate in the ingenious

brains of officials to whom history and archaeology are quaint if innocent amusements.

I am no authority upon statistics, and I cannot compare the sums spent per head on education in this country and in others. But knowing our methods and the docility of the tax-payer, I can easily believe that we spend more in this way than any other nation. I imagine our outlay during the last half century has left fewer actually illiterate persons in the country. To my mind that in itself is a very doubtful gain, for it is known that a good many so-called illiterate individuals have far more sense than is commonly found in the so-called educated. But whether it be for good or evil, every administration in recent times has plumed itself on its generosity to the education grant, and lavish expenditure in that direction is held to be meritorious.

If it really be a merit to expend many millions a year in the teaching of the young to read and write, to learn a few words of French, to dance, and to get a smattering of music and perhaps of natural science, would it not be a logical consequence that these youngsters who, at that age, doubtless loathe the whole curriculum, should, when they are of maturer years, and more likely to be grateful, have the chance given them of expanding their minds in museums properly fitted and adequately equipped?

I am bound to confess that at this moment there is a tendency towards regarding education as a process that is not inevitably complete and done with at the age of fifteen or thereabouts. But until we regard it as something that is always proceeding, and going on just as long as the brain works, we shall only be in the elementary stages of civilization. No better example can be found than our own weekly meetings. The majority of us are fairly advanced in years, but I will undertake that a large proportion of us learn something new at every meeting, and at times the learners include the reader of the paper. Just as we are instructed and educated by speech, so in due time will be instructed the frequenters of our museums, and thus I again insist, first, upon the museums being officially regarded as an integral part of the educational machinery of the country, and second, that if they are to be of full utility as such, they must be furnished with as ample collections as the nation can afford. Thus by another route we again arrive at a good sound reason for the proper organization of archaeological research in all countries where we exercise control. The argument applies equally to India, the Pacific Islands, Africa, and elsewhere in our great empire. My reason for harping with such insistence upon Egypt and our duties there is twofold. The importance of Egyptian civilization in relation to that of early Europe is much greater than that of any other country in the first place,

and in the second it is certain that the archaeological remains of Egypt are not of infinite extent.

The great division of the spoils goes on year by year, England getting a smaller share than any other country, and thus losing treasures of education that can never be replaced or recovered. Meanwhile the government, seeing no immediate profit in the matter and well aware that the nation, as a whole, is no longer-sighted than itself, stands by in apathy while professing to be profoundly interested in the education of the people. We are a singularly childish simple race of folk, whatever the newspapers of other countries may say about our persistent and machiavellian astuteness. I do not think any people of our day are so susceptible of a red herring drawn across the trail. Twenty newspapers and their ten million readers can work themselves into a state of exclusive excitement over the disappearance from some mean street of a young woman of whom no one had ever heard, or at the threatened sale of an elephant from the Zoo. But if a paragraph were printed in the same papers stating that all the rights to ancient sites in Mesopotamia had been ceded to Japan, it would take at least a month before the millions of readers would even grasp something like the real meaning of the concession. These things show better than any argument, that true education among us is still to seek, and among the complicated machinery of indirect education I can see nothing that can help so much, and carry with it at the same time so much human interest, as the study of the history and the arts of the great civilizations of the past.

Thus, to revert to my opening words, what is the true perspective of our present state? The whole world seethes with unrest due to the upheaval of a long war, values are at sixes and sevens, and all perspectives are distorted. One persistent claim, however, is daily thrust upon us, and that is the demand, an entirely legitimate one, for the material improvement in the conditions of life of the mass of the community. This, it seems to me, is likely to be attained, even generously, and in this very attainment of an ideal lies the grave danger that this success may be taken as the supreme good, and that nothing beyond is needed. From this point onwards we can very profitably learn from the enemy. We have seen, or at any rate we can easily learn, from the writings of the Germans themselves and from others what were the deplorable results of similar conditions during the last twenty or thirty years in Germany, and we know how the Teutonic orgy of materialism has ended. If the people and the government of this empire are neglectful of so modern an instance, then history, even the most recent, is of no value to us.

Correction. Before making the positive statement as to the disposal of the Lahun jewellery, I took what I still think to be ample precautions to be accurate. So far as the British Museum is concerned, I asked Sir Ernest Budge, the Keeper of the Egyptian department, whether the Lahun find had ever been offered to the Museum, and he declared positively that he had heard of no such offer.

Professor Petrie now informs me, however, that at an early stage he wrote to the Director of the Museum, Sir Frederic Kenyon, offering the find, and received a reply that the Museum could only give £2,000 for it. On this, Sir Frederic Kenyon tells me that Professor Petrie wrote inviting the Museum to *contribute* towards securing the find for the nation, but insisted upon the matter being kept a profound secret from every one. Sir Frederic states that he observed the condition of secrecy and stated that £2,000 was the highest sum at the disposal of the Trustees.

Sir Frederic Kenyon adds that 'Professor Petrie is correct in saying that he offered to accept a lower sum from an English Museum than from a foreign one; on the other hand, he is incorrect in saying that neither institutions nor individuals in England showed any desire to secure the find. In June 1914, in response to an inquiry from me, he stated that his committee "wished to ascertain what foreign museums would grant, and would then give a preference to any English museum". He added that they already had a foreign offer of £8,000 and expected this would be capped by another foreign museum. That was his last letter to me. He did not communicate with me after getting his final offer from abroad, nor offer it to this Museum—at any reduction on such offer. My only other piece of evidence is that on July 22, Sir W. Richmond wrote to me saying, "No doubt you know that £10,000 has been offered from abroad for the unique collection of the 12th dynasty work recently exhibited, &c.", expressing a hope that he would succeed in raising £8,000, and asking if the Museum would contribute £2,000. Where he got the figure £10,000 from, or how he came to fix on £2,000 as a likely figure for the Museum to be able to afford, I do not know.

'Then came the war, and no doubt the attempt to raise the money lapsed. Anyhow, I heard no more from either Petrie or Richmond. F. G. K.'

Another point raised by Professor Petrie was that the cession to New York was not effected by him, but by his Committee—a difference that does not in any way affect my complaint. Further, he states that the transfer was not a sale, but in return for 'a grant of £8,000'. As to this, I can only plead that

I quoted the Bulletin of the New York Museum, which states that the objects 'were purchased for the Museum in 1916' (that is, about two years after the last communication to the British Museum).

In my address I said an explanation was called for in regard to this most deplorable transaction. Professor Petrie has furnished that given above, and Sir Frederic Kenyon has added a useful commentary.

Where I have misrepresented Professor Petrie I offer my humble apologies. At the same time I think most people who know anything of the conduct of Museums would think, as I did, that the keeper of a department should know if such an important find had been offered.

I make no other comment. The reader must judge for himself of the rights or wrongs of the matter.

C. H. R.

The following resolution was then moved by Sir Evan Vincent Evans, Knt., seconded by George Eumorfopoulos, Esq., and carried unanimously:

'That the best thanks of the meeting be accorded to the President for his address, and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.'

The PRESIDENT signified his assent.

THURSDAY, 29th APRIL 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Lieut.-Colonel J. B. P. KARSLAKE, M.A., F.S.A., read the following paper on Silchester and its relations to the pre-Roman civilization of Gaul:

Sir Arthur Evans, in his Presidential address in 1919,¹ explained the close connexion between Britain and the Italo-Hallstatt province, the effect of the strong Celtic influence on this country from the Early Iron Age, and how in consequence the treatment of its archaeological remains had become com-

¹ *Proceedings*, xxxi, 194.

plicated, by the necessity of considering conditions extending far beyond our insular limits.

The difficulties become obvious in tracing certain phases of Celtic influence at Calleva Atrebatum. But I attempt to overcome them, because the facts I seek to establish have a far-reaching importance on the study of the early history of this country, and tend to prove a definite occupation of Southern Britain by the Gauls of Northern France subsequent to the invasion of Julius Caesar. The effects of this occupation possibly survived not only the later Roman and Saxon periods but may still be dimly traceable at the present time.

The plan of Silchester (fig. 1) is an attempt to recover the form of the Celtic settlement as originally laid out, eliminating the subsequent Roman alterations and additions. It is unnecessary to describe its situation further than to remark that it was established on the northern edge of a forest extending to the south over the valley of the river Loddon, while to the north was open heath country, stretching to the chalk downs of North Berkshire, except where intersected by the narrow Kennet Valley.

The plan of the town is an irregular polygon enclosed by two lines of entrenchment, the outer (B) some 100 yards in advance of the inner (A). Both lines consisted of ditch and bank, and on the outside or counterscarp of the inner enclosure ran a road or track (C) encircling the settlement.¹ This would mark the shape of the town if everything else were destroyed. The line of entrenchment was pierced by three entrances, on the north, west, and east respectively, the outer entrenchment being protected at each entrance by covering earthworks varying in detail according to the nature of the ground.

At a distance of, roughly, 2,500 yards from the centre of the oppidum is another boundary (D), which reproduces the same polygon character of the inner enclosures and was defined not by a ditch and vallum but by a broad track or road, some seventy yards across in places to-day—a 'broadway'—as it was still termed in the seventeenth century. This can be traced to-day on the north-west and south of the line where it is called 'The String'. The whole area enclosed is some 4,200 acres.

At the south-west entrance I was able to examine the surface of the early road at a point where it had been crossed and buried by the later Roman road. It showed a made road of coarse gravel. Roads approach the site from north-west, south-west, and south-east, and converge on the three entrances, forming a junction somewhat north of the centre of the oppidum. To the north of the plan is a long line of earth-works

¹ Owing to the small scale this road is only shown roughly in fig. 1. It in fact closely follows the line of the counterscarp of the ditch.

(E) some three miles in length, extending over the northern heath. These earthworks consist of a bank 8 ft. high and a ditch 10 ft. broad facing north. The flanks rest on marshy ground impassable at least for animals or transport. A space is left on the south-west between the entrenchment and the marsh for the passage of the road, consequently the only approach to the oppidum from the north is by the defined road.

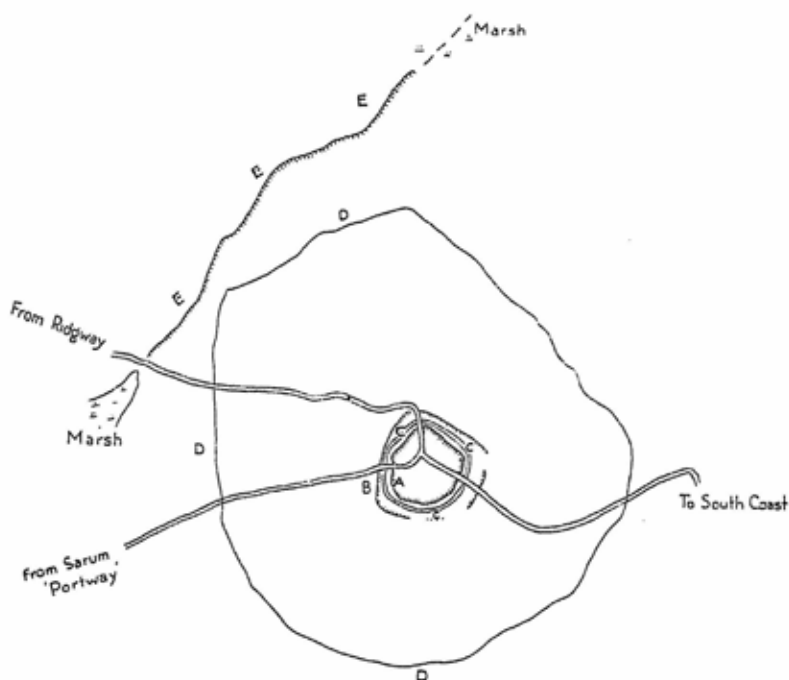


Fig. 1. PLAN OF SILCHESTER.

The evidence upon which the plan is based still survives. The earthworks remain substantially as they were designed. The inner enceinte, somewhat modified by the later wall that was built upon it, follows the line of the earlier vallum, but is still distinguishable from the later work. The only features which are new to the earlier plans of Silchester are the outer entrenchment and entrance on the east, the existence of which I was able to establish by excavation in 1912.

The outer boundary survives as the parish boundaries of Mortimer West and Silchester. It conforms almost exactly to the boundaries of the inner enclosures and therefore shows strong

prima facie evidence that the two boundaries form a part of the same system.

The position of the early roads within the enclosure follows the natural lie of the ground and is approximately confirmed by the position of certain houses which always remained out of conformity to the later Roman streets, or were obviously altered in their original plan to conform to such streets. Outside, they can still be traced as existing tracks or marked depressions in the soil. They survive almost everywhere at least as foot-paths. The route from the Ridgway on the Berkshire downs was used by cattle drovers from Wales till the early part of the last century, and has been described by our Fellow, Mr. Money, in the *Transactions of the Newbury and District Field Club* for 1895. The south-east road, as it leaves Silchester, has a direction towards the Hinds Head, which is clearly visible from the higher ground in the inner enclosure, as if its destination at the coast were the East Sussex harbours.

About three miles south of Silchester the passage of the Beauraipaire brook is determined by the entrenched camp at Bull's Down which covers the ford; and the road continues to Old Basing, where the crossing of the Loddon by the ancient ford there was effected. The south-west road led through what is now Pamber Forest in the direction of Old Sarum and Salisbury Plain.

With regard to the resemblance of Calleva to the Gaulish towns in Northern France, as they existed in the days of Caesar, it will be well to refer to the evidence we have of such towns.

Caesar's narrative tells us that the Gauls possessed numerous towns, in many instances walled, and connected by roads and bridges over the rivers. Barges were available on the rivers capable of carrying considerable loads of freight. In fact, we have a picture of considerable urban development with the necessary machinery for communication and trade between the different centres. Moreover, he especially mentions the portoria or transit dues on goods passing through their territory as the principle source of revenue to a Gaulish Civitas. M. Fustel de Coulanges in his *La Gaule romaine*¹ describes each city as having its public property consisting of lands and buildings, invested funds and proceeds of taxes, and being empowered to receive gifts and legacies. The city could let its lands, it invested its money on loan, and could levy its own taxes, such as octrois, market tolls, and transit dues on goods passing over its roads and bridges. This civic autonomy is retained, unimpaired by the sovereignty of the Roman administration.

That the public lands of the Gaulish town surrounded the

¹ p. 244.

inhabited enclosure there can be little doubt. In Roman times they were termed its 'villa' or estate, later they became the *ville* as distinguished from the *cit  *—the walled enclosure—and subsequently the term *ville* absorbed both for most purposes. The city lands were termed the *faubourg*, i.e. that part of the *ville* '*foris burgi*' outside the burgh or walls. In the early charters of northern French towns of the eleventh century the term 'banlieue' is found applied to the city lands. The term is explained by the *Grande Encyclop  die* as follows:

'On a d  sign   par ce mot le territoire situ   hors des murs d'une ville et sur lequel s'  tendait la juridiction (*bannum*) de cette ville. Il avait   t   g  n  ralement    l'origine d'une lieue ou environ (*leuca*).'¹

The *lieue* or '*leuca*' was the Gaulish measure of distance computed as equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles (*milliapa ssuum*). The *banlieues* of many French towns are still recognized as the area for octroi administration.

That the French towns have retained so much of their Roman or Gaulish character as compared with our English towns, is a matter of historic development unnecessary to dwell on, further than to point out that it has meant the retention in most instances of the *faubourg* or *banlieue*, where in England it has for the most part gone, although it survived even in this country till a comparatively recent period.

There is no historical record of the Gaulish towns in France, certainly in Northern France, before the time of Caesar. But it is known that in the valley of the Po the Gauls had definite settlements when they first came in contact with Rome in the third century B.C., and that these settlements probably date back to the sixth century B.C.

The purpose of this paper is to show that in the close correspondence with the general features of the Gaulish town, as it existed in France and Italy, we must recognize in Silchester an offshoot of pre-Roman Gaul.

The plans must be taken as sketch-plans. They cannot make claim to mathematical accuracy, but it is upon their general features that my arguments depend.

It can, I think, be definitely established that the Gaulish town had a definite and quite characteristic plan of the polygon shape

¹ 'Ban-leuca. Tractus ut plurimum unius leucae seu miliaris intra quem civitas seu monasterium potest bannum exercere.'—Arnis, *Dict. Med. Latin.*, Paris, 1886.

'La banlieue   tait ainsi appel  e parce qu'elle comprenait ordinairement le terrain qui contournait le chef-lieu de la juridiction jusqu'   une lieue environ de distance, mais dans une foule de localit  s elle   tait ou plus grande ou plus petite . . . La banlieue de Paris   tait plus de deux lieues aux environs.'—Larousse, s.v.

such as the plan of Silchester. Unfortunately, there are not many instances where the plan of the actual Gaulish enceinte has been definitely ascertained in France, but the outline sketches (fig. 2) are given on the authority of M. Blanchet's work on *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule*. M. Blanchet states: 'Dans quelques villes contemporaines on peut reconnaître la trace de l'enceinte en suivant certaines rues extérieures.'¹ I would venture to go further and to say that in view of the feature of the road,

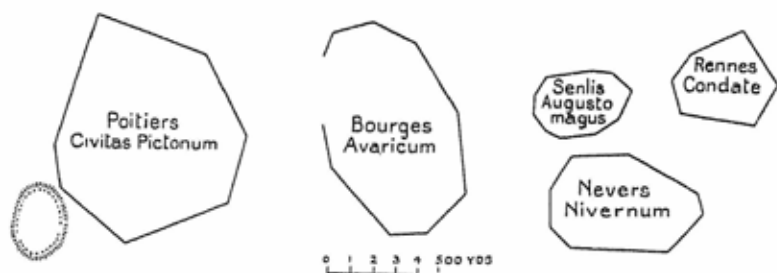


Fig. 2. FRENCH EXAMPLES OF GAULISH CITIES.

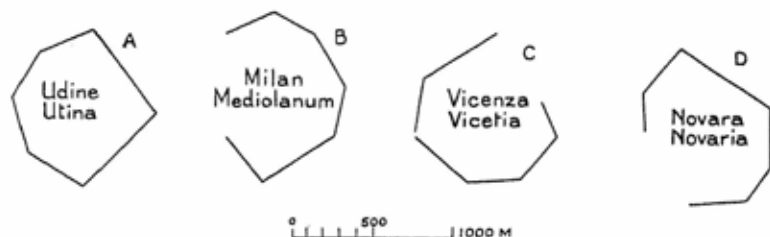


Fig. 3. ITALIAN EXAMPLES OF GAULISH CITIES—VALLEY OF THE PO.

fig. 1 C, which seems invariably to have followed the far side or counterscarp of the defensive ditch of the Gaulish enceinte, can always be traced, faintly perhaps as a sort of palimpsest in the modern town plan, but always indelibly present. The polygon of the Gaulish settlement after the enclosing bank or wall had disappeared remote centuries ago.

Applying this test it is possible to recover the polygon lay-out throughout the territory known to have been occupied by the Gauls in the time of their greatest power between the sixth and fourth centuries before our era. It is clearly indicated in the Italian examples shown in fig. 3. The polygon may therefore be

¹ *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule*, p. 277.

considered as definite a character of the Gaulish town as the rectangular is of the Roman. It usually encloses an area of about 100-150 acres.

To return to the examination of Silchester: first of all there is the polygon shape, a feature essentially Gaulish and not Roman¹ (fig. 3, A). The public lands surrounding the walls and extending to a definite distance from them correspond to what is found as a usual feature of a Gaulish town. The distance, as

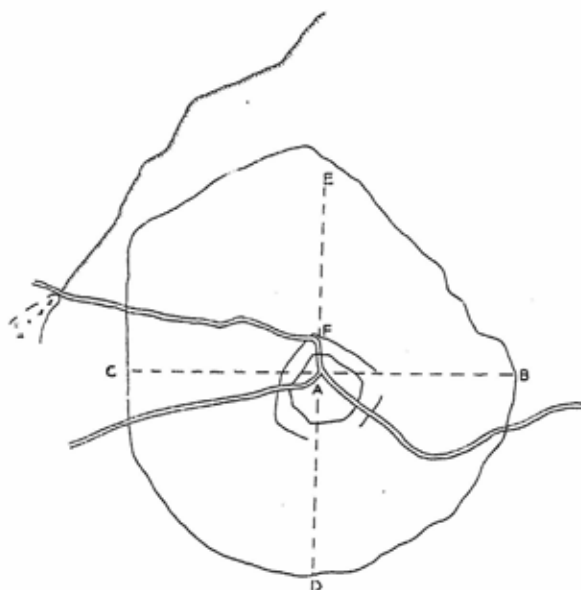


Fig. 4. SILCHESTER.

measured from the point in the inner enclosure where the road junction is found, is east, west, and south, 2,493 yards (fig. 4, AB, AC, AD), and from the north gate of the outer enclosure almost the same—some 50 yards more (EF). The northern boundary is a little uncertain, as the parish boundaries have been modified at this point in recent times. There seems little doubt that this

¹ Silchester must have remained at least for many years after the Roman occupation in the position of *civitas peregrina*, and as such retained its national institutions (Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, I. ii. 209). Fragments of three inscriptions found on the site record a *collegium peregrinorum civitatis Callevae*, a corporation or electoral body of *peregrini* by and from whom the magistrates of the city were chosen. The Roman citizenship was not conferred on all inhabitants of the empire till the Edict of Caracalla (A. D. 212-17), and cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Gaule romaine*, p. 88.

measure is the Gallic leuca of about 2,418 yards or $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles, plus some addition of a definite degree, plus the 70 yards¹ of the encircling road. That the road junction A represents the place so common in a French village in Artois to-day seems probable. Here was situated, no doubt, the chief residence.

The bank to the north represents the customs boundary, to facilitate the collection of the portoria on the merchandise coming from the interior by the great ridge road of the Berkshire Down.²

The complete examination of the whole site of Calleva has made it possible to determine definitely that its occupation as an inhabited centre began before the Claudian invasion in A.D. 43, but the evidence of the objects found does not suggest an earlier date for such occupation than the latter half of the first century B.C.

Caesar definitely states that townships such as Calleva, continuously inhabited by an urban population, did not exist in Britain at the time of his campaigns; their oppida were only used in time of danger to protect the cattle and non-combatants.

The title Calleva Atrebatum, preserved in the *Itineraries*, denotes that the settlement at Silchester was known in Roman times as a civitas of the Atrebates. But Caesar makes no mention of the Atrebates among the tribes of the Thames valley who submitted to him. On the other hand they are known in his time as a tribe of northern Gaul, inhabiting the district now known as Artois, with their chief city at Nemetacum or Arras.

The first indication of Calleva is found in the mint mark inscribed on coins of Epillus, son of Commius, dating from about the beginning of our era.

It is a fair assumption that Calleva was occupied somewhat before the first century A.D., as the chief centre of their civitas, by the Atrebates, either a part or the whole of the Gaulish tribe of that name, who, for some reason, had left their homes in Northern France and crossed the Channel into Britain.

There seem to be historical grounds for assuming a considerable transference of Gaulish tribes into Britain subsequent to the conquest of Gaul by the Romans. Apart from the inherent probability that the general dissatisfaction among the northern tribes at the Roman yoke, manifested in open revolt in the year 51, may well have prompted many to seek freedom across the Channel, Caesar records the dramatic picture of the parting of Commius and Mark Antony, the former promising to go anywhere on the sole condition 'ne in conspectum veniat cuiusquam Romani'.³

¹ *supra* p. 190.

² It may well be that the portoria are perpetuated in the name Portway, applied from early times to the Roman road which connected Silchester and Old Sarum.

³ Caesar, *B.G.* viii. 48.

It is also noteworthy and significant that in the list of the Belgic nations and tribes who furnished auxiliaries to the Roman army in the first century, carefully compiled by M. Lavissee,¹ there is no mention of the Atrebatas, one of the most powerful tribes in Caesar's time.

Plans of other towns, from their polygon form and other points of resemblance to Silchester, suggest the area over which the immigration spread and its line of advance inland from the coast (fig. 5).

As the principal centre of disaffection in 51 B.C. was in the

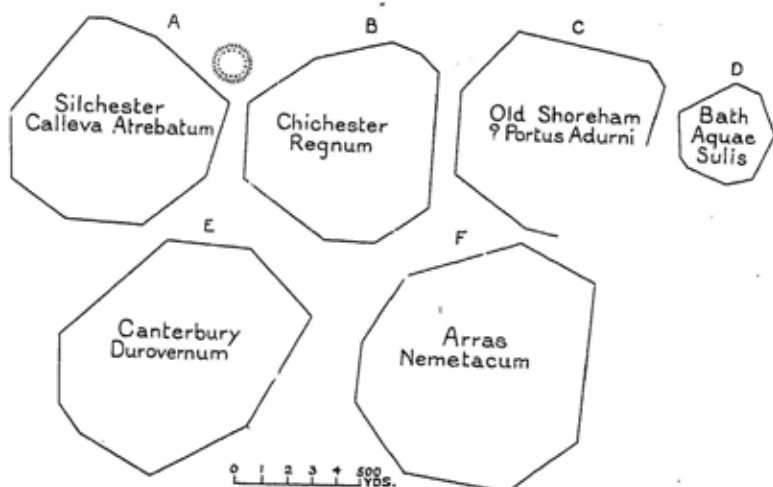


Fig. 5. PLANS OF SILCHESTER AND OTHER TOWNS.

district of the Seine valley and Artois, the point of departure of the refugees should be sought for in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Seine, bringing them a landfall on this side somewhere on the coast of Hampshire or Sussex.

At the head of Chichester harbour is Regnum (Chichester), an almost exact counterpart in plan to Calleva, and, in spite of the fact that its site has been occupied continuously to our day, faint traces of a similar organization to that at Calleva can still be found. It must be noted that the south-east road from Silchester is in the general direction of Chichester. The polygon form typical of the Gaulish city is preserved in the walls which still in part remain (fig. 5, B). Although to-day it is not possible to recover the boundaries of a similar surrounding

¹ Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, I, ii, 170.

territory attached to the city, as at Silchester, there is much evidence that such did at one time exist.

As late as 1885 the Municipal Corporation's Report records that the liberties of the city of Chichester extended in several directions beyond the old line of the walls of the city. In the fourteenth century the *Testa de Nevil* mentions certain lands or manors—Martinsgrave, Draicton, Orrea Regis, and Egelic, of which Drayton can be identified some 2,000 yards and Orrea Regis 1,000 yards from the walls—as belonging to the city in the time of Henry I, 'so that the bailiffs of Chichester received rent and paid it into the Exchequer, but now they receive nothing the King having granted it to two of his knights'.¹ The same king gave also ten librates of land belonging to Chichester to one Reginald Hareng, *quia diffractus fuit*, 'as a pension for wounds', as we should say. And our Fellow, Mr. Challenor Smith, has brought to my notice the will of John Wode the younger, proven 1485, under which certain land 'in the comyn ffield circa Chichester' is devised to the prior of Boxgrove to provide an obit for his brothers and sisters.

Chichester has also similar lines of bank and ditch covering its northern approaches (fig. 6), and a charter of the borough in 1155 runs as follows: 'Et prohibeo super forisfacturam mean ne aliquis cum mercatu exeat a rectis viis civitatis Cicestriae causa asportandi consuetudines meas.'² This confirms in a remarkable degree the view that these banks served to prevent merchants deviating from the high roads so as to escape payment of custom.

Some twenty-five miles farther east is another ancient harbour, but long since silted up, Old Shoreham. The plan (fig. 5, c), partly based on the road which runs round the present village, bears such a remarkable similarity to Silchester and Chichester that its origin cannot be doubted. Camden identified it with Portus Adurni but gives no further description.

It is remarkable that, as far as can be ascertained, the Romano-British character of the site has hitherto escaped observation. But the road furnished a clue which I followed up, with the result that I was able to identify the north entrance and the greater part of the north ditch and bank, which exists about 18 in. to 2 ft. above ground, a considerable section of the ditch, the outer defences of the north entrance, and the line of the ditch and bank at the east entrance. It was deserted, apparently, by the twelfth century, and the materials used to build the new town on its southern extremity.

¹ p. 227, no. 80, and Dallaway, *Hist. of Sussex*, vol. i, 9.

² Ballard, *British Borough Charters*, 179, and see law of Wiltraed of Kent quoted in Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, vol. i, p. 81.

The great quantities of British coins that have been found between these two points, especially on the sand between Wittering and Selsey, point to a very considerable commerce at the period suggested for the establishment of these settlements. Among these coins the issues of Commius and his sons Verica, Epillus, and Tincommius are well represented. It must have been from these landing-places at Chichester and Shoreham that the invaders worked their way inland to the centre at Silchester, which commanded the trade routes of the upper Thames and Avon valleys, giving access to the Bristol Channel at Bath.

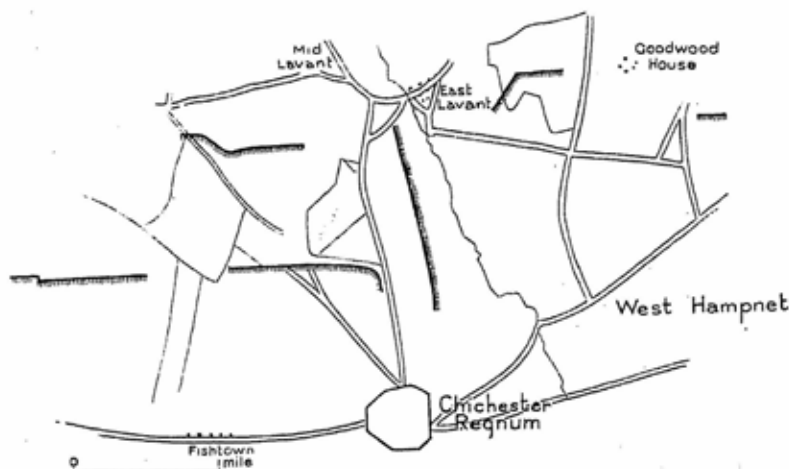


Fig. 6. LINES OF BANK AND DITCH TO NORTH OF CHICHESTER.

The plan of Bath (fig. 5, D), shows another polygon, in size comparable to Rennes. Its surrounding territory may be recorded in the grant by Oswic, king of the Hwiccas, to the abbess of Bath of 'centum manentes qui adiacent civitati quae vocatur Hat Bathu'.¹

In the plan (fig. 5, E) of the outline of the wall of Canterbury the similarity to the outline of Silchester, Shoreham, and Chichester is to be noted. In 1728 there were contained within the marks and bounds of the liberty of the city 3,784½ acres (cf. Silchester 4,090 acres),² and in 1835 the liberties of the town extend beyond the walls in several directions.³ Here there is little in the way of earthworks to help us. The Pilgrims' Way is generally accepted as pre-Roman, but the surrounding country

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, V, i, 69.

² Hasted, *Kent*, vol. iv, p. 401.

³ Appendix, Municipal Corporations' report, 1835.

has been always closely cultivated and we cannot expect much. But, fortunately, actual record from Domesday comes to our help.¹ 'It is agreed concerning the direct roads which have exit and entrance through the city. Whoever commits forfeiture in them shall amend to the King. In like manner, with regard to the direct roads without the city, as far as one leuca and three perches and three feet.' And in a different handwriting, very much compressed, evidently an interpolation: 'A certain reeve named Brumann, in the time of King Edward, took customs of foreign merchants in the land of St. Trinity and St. Augustine; who afterwards, in the time of King William, acknowledged before Archbishop Lanfranc and the Bishop of Bayeux, that he had unjustly taken it; and being put upon his oath, swore that the said churches had their customs undisturbed in the time of King Edward. And thenceforward both churches have had their customs in their own lands, by judgment of the King's Barons who held the plea.' Here are two very material and important facts for the purpose of this inquiry.

To deal with the last point first. The lands of the Holy Trinity and St. Augustine are at the entrance of the Pilgrims' Way to the city. St. Augustine, just outside the boundary, was founded as a burying-place for kings and archbishops, for, says Camden, at the time of its foundation it was not then lawful to bury in cities.²

Here, at the entrance to the city, they collect customs from foreign merchants. Are not these the portoria or transit dues?³

Next as to the king's peace on the roads outside the city, for a leuca 3 perches and 3 feet. This is just what was found at Silchester, and it can be identified to-day. There is on the Dover road a Milestone farm, mentioned in old boundary perambulations. It has, apparently, no relation to any existing mile, but it is almost exactly a leuca to a point 100 yards from the city wall, in a line with the boundary of St. Augustine's.

There can be little doubt that as at the north gate of Silchester there was here an outer boundary bank and ditch from which the city limits were measured. It confirms, in a remarkable degree, the leuca at Silchester.

Before leaving the subject of the leuca, a matter of great importance, as it is a distinctly Gaulish measure, another source of information, again originating in Domesday, must be considered.

¹ *D. B.*, i, 2, Larking, *Domesday of Kent*, 96.

² Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1695, p. 198; Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, i, 166; *Archaeologia*, lvi, 384.

³ The present entrance is called Longport Street, a name which comes down from early medieval Canterbury.

In Kent there is continual mention of the leuna or 'leuga Ricardi de Tonbrige'. That Tonbridge Castle existed at the time of Domesday there can be little doubt, but it is not mentioned. The district round it is still called the Lowy of Tonbridge.

This lowy, according to Hasted's *History of Kent*, is called in old Latin deeds *Districtus Leucae de Tonebrige*, and in the book of Domesday *Leuna Ricardi de Tonebrige*.¹ It was anciently the custom in Normandy to term the district round an abbey, castle, or chief mansion *Leuca* or *Leucata*,—in English the Lowy—in which the possessor had generally a grant of several peculiar liberties, privileges, and exemptions. When Richard FitzGislebert, who came to England with the Conqueror, had possessed himself of the manor and castle of Tonbridge, in exchange with the archbishop for other lands in Normandy (in fact the Lowy of Briony) he procured a grant of diverse liberties and exemptions to it,² as well as to his adjoining manor of Hadlow, probably the same as those he enjoyed with his possessions there, after the example of which he called the district round his manors and castle the Lowy of Tonbridge, by which name it has been called ever since.

Again Camden states, 'They affirm that the Lowy of Briony was measured about with a line and he received an equal amount of land at Tunbridge measured by the same line brought over into England.'

Do we not see here the survival in Normandy in the eleventh century of the leuga or district of a leuca radius round the castle or abbey, measured about with a line; is not this the exact counterpart of what exists at Silchester and has been suggested at Canterbury;—and is not the district still measured about at Silchester with a track called 'a String', the counterpart corresponding to the French *banlieue* of eleventh-century charters?³

The leuca as a measure of length scarcely survives to-day, but the system of land measure to which it belongs remains. The⁴ leuca of between 2,418 and 2,424 yds. has never been

¹ Hasted, *Kent*, vol. ii, 308.

² The leucata is found in Saxon England. Athelstan granted jurisdiction round St. Wilfrid's church at Ripon for a leuca 'on ilke side ye kyrk a myle' (*V. C. H. Yorkshire*, ii, 214). 'In Ripum Leuga S. Wilfridi totū circa ecc'lm i leuga' (*D. B.* i, fol. 303).

³ There can be little doubt that the Sussex rapes preserve this idea of the measuring line or 'rope'. Thus the Lowey of Pevensay is also styled a rape; and the leucata granted to Battle abbey by the Conqueror is also termed the abbot's rape. That the leucata was a recognized adjunct to many English cities in the eleventh century, cf. *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 73. l. v, 15, xxi, a 15, ed. Hughes, Oxford, 1872.

⁴ Cf. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i, 97.

satisfactorily explained: the following solution of the problem is suggested. At its mean—2,420 yds.—it is exactly eleven furlongs. But eleven constantly recurs in our land measure, and troubled us much at school, and its half, $5\frac{1}{2}$ yds., the rod, perch, or pole, was worse. The leuca is based on the pole or perch of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yds. In early days the ploughman ploughed in strips and he called the length of his furrow a furrow-long, forty times the length of his pole or goad. And he made the base of his strip even by measuring a pole length at right angles to his starting point, so that he had room to turn his four oxen on his own ground. He then ploughed his 18 in. furrow backwards and forwards and when he had finished the ground marked, he had gone 11 furrows or exactly 2,420 yds.—the leuca—the length of the furrows in the area of the rod or rood. In fact he had travelled 2,420 yds. or one leuca on his rood or road.

There is to-day an obscure measure, the lug acre, said by Dr. Murray to be based on the value of the pole or perch.¹ This is the survival. It exists in Berkshire to-day as $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre instead of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original leuca measure.

I venture to assert that in the use of the leuca in the earliest lay-out at Silchester, we have a date for the introduction of our present land measure, which was used by the Gaulish farmers (Atrebates means farmers according to Professor Rhys), when they came over here 2,000 years ago.

One would like to be able to trace in the original home of the Atrebates—Arras—the prototype of Calleva Atrebatum. Unlike Silchester Arras has continued to exist, albeit wrecked and destroyed at many periods of its history, until the present time. This has been mainly due to its wool trade and the production of fine woollen cloth for which we know it was renowned from its earliest history. And our late Fellow, Mr. George Fox, came to the conclusion, from the many indications that came to light during its excavation, that at Silchester also the main industry was the making and dyeing of woollen cloth.

Fortunately, the resemblance that can still be traced does not end here. Although no remains exist to-day of the original enceinte of Arras, the general shape of the town can be approximately recovered from the street plan as it exists to-day and certainly sufficiently to recognize that it must have closely approximated to the Silchester type (fig. 5, F).

That Arras had a similar extension of territory, outside the city wall, we have direct evidence. In the eleventh century it was divided into two distinct parts: *la cité* was under the bishop and *la ville* belonged to the count of Flanders. And in

¹ Oxford Dict., s.v.

the latter part of the fifteenth century Philippe de Comines writes of Arras: 'Car lors y avoit murailles et fossez entre la ville et la cité, et portes fermans contre ladiste cité, et maintenant est à l'opposite: car la cité ferme contre la ville.'¹ It is to be noted that the distinction between *ville* and *cité* is quite clear.

Before concluding, reference must be made to certain aspects of present-day Artois, the original home of the Atrebrates. It is a very far cry from the present to some 2,000 years ago, before even the Roman had been heard of on these open downs. But one cannot help being struck by the numerous points of resemblance to the Silchester as excavated and the modern Artesian village. The houses are the same. Mostly timber framed, filled in with daub and wattle on an 18 in. flint foundation; the same court and the buildings grouped round it of corridor type, the same wells steined with flints; the same system of what were termed rubbish pits at Silchester; even the scythe anvil with two ears survives but is very rare now. All these survivals testify to the conservative habits of the people who lived till quite recently far from railways or other adjuncts of modern civilization.

Of roads there were none in the modern sense, mere unmetalled tracks, sunk deep in the ground, within the memory of many people still living. The houses are grouped round the junction of two or more of these old tracks—an open space or *place* as the village centre. Beyond the house-group and surrounding the village are small enclosed pastures where the cattle are driven in from the open fields and confined at night, and round the whole, the circular track, so that it is possible to go right round the village without actually entering it. Is there not here a survival of the surrounding road which is so marked a feature of the old Gaulish oppidum?

To sum up: I have endeavoured to show that in Silchester we have a settlement essentially of the Gaulish type; that it must have been founded by a people having the same organization and customs as the Gauls of northern France in the first century B. C.; and further, that it was the result of a considerable settlement in this country of immigrants from across the channel who spread over a considerable portion of south-central England; that such settlement permanently established a Celtic municipal organization, of which some incidents can still be recognized in medieval England and at Silchester survive to-day in the form of the *leucata*, or *leuga radius*, or *banlieue*. I am tempted to refer to several other directions in which it is possible to apply the light which these conclusions afford, but the subject is too vast.

¹ *Memoires*, 1648, bk. 5, chap. 15, p. 386. Quoted in *Dict. Larousse*, s.v. Arras.

I can only conclude this paper with the expression of a hope that I have made a *prima facie* case for the recognition of an important factor in the early history of this country, hitherto not fully appreciated in its bearings on subsequent development.

Major BUSHÉ-FOX inquired if there was any evidence of pre-Roman occupation at Shoreham, Chichester, Bath, and Canterbury. Silchester's history began about 50 B.C. and fitted in with known tribal movements; but before that date there were considerable changes in Britain, as shown at Glastonbury and Hengistbury. Walled towns of the same irregular outline existed in the Celtic district of north Italy, but he was not sure of their pre-Roman occupation. The military Roman towns shown on the screen were not strictly comparable; but a parallel might be found at Wroxeter, which began as a military and ended as a civil town.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH asked whether the irregular circuit of Roman London could be explained on the same lines. There was a Mile End that seemed to correspond to the farm mentioned south-east of Canterbury. It would be interesting to know whether the Belgic Atrebates were Celtic or Teutonic in origin, as the two races were credited with different systems of settlement.¹ The Belgae in Britain were at first centred in Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), but later, in the days of Ptolemy, were located in North Wilts. and Somerset, including Bath, which rather supported Col. Karslake's argument. As most towns had common fields in early medieval times, it was important to ascertain if the outer ring as at Silchester was a Gaulish peculiarity, or of common occurrence.

Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD said that London within the walls might be described as a polygon, but it did not seem sufficiently angular or irregular to be classed with Silchester or the other towns discussed in the paper.

Mr. BROWNE thought it worth while to raise the question whether the shape of Silchester had been determined by physical conditions. At Caen an attempt seemed to have been made to follow the general plan, but a stream had interfered with the outline.

The PRESIDENT considered mensuration by means of the plough an interesting point, and the theory was inherently probable. The town-plans reminded him of Vauban's forts, and

¹ W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, p. 243.

a polygon would have been easier to defend than a square or circle. It was by no means certain that all the Celtic towns were of polygonal plan, and only excavation down to virgin soil could recover the original outline.

Col. KARSLAKE replied that there was some historical evidence for a pre-Roman Chichester, as Cogidumnus, king of the Regni, was honoured by appointment as legate of the Roman emperor. Durovernum was evidently a Celtic name, and appeared as a mint-mark on British coins. He had been familiar with the Silchester district for twenty-five years and was convinced that there were no natural reasons for the outline of the town. The northern banks were not adapted for defence, and should be regarded as a customs barrier. All the Celtic towns he had identified were on a flat plateau or gently sloping ground: the circular Stone Age fort had to be modified to meet the change in armament. The polygon in Italy was only found in the Celtic area.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 6th MAY 1920.

WILLIAM MINET, Esq., M.A., Treasurer, in the Chair.

WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.S.A., moved a resolution urging that the Ministry of Health should decline to give its assent to the proposals of the Croydon Corporation to destroy the Whitgift Hospital in connexion with a road-widening scheme.

The resolution was seconded by PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., and carried unanimously.

Lt.-Col. H. F. BIDDER, D.S.O., F.S.A., read a paper on further excavations in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Mitcham.

The cemetery had proved to be much larger than was at first supposed, the site extending across the Mitcham-Morden road to ground where, in the middle of the last century, numbers of bones and relics had been turned up in the cultivation of lavender and liquorice. In the last few years further remains had been found on that site and some of the objects had been preserved.

In the field where excavations were originally begun, further

graves had been opened and there was every indication that a large number remained to be explored. It was probable that the cemetery contained in all between three and four hundred graves and was larger than any other Saxon cemetery hitherto discovered in England, with the exception of Sleaford, Lincolnshire.

The character of the objects found confirmed the opinion that the cemetery was an extremely early one; a pierced bronze buckle recently discovered was of a Roman type. Several swords had been found, in two cases with gilt bronze bands, ornamented with lateral grooves, round the sheath. The orientation of the bodies was very irregular; while the majority were laid in an easterly direction, a large number was not.

As the excavations were still in progress it was proposed to postpone a complete report until they were finished.

Professor PARSONS gave some particulars of the measurements of the skulls and other bones submitted to him. He found in the skulls a greater element of the Celtic type than was usual in Anglo-Saxon skulls from cemeteries in this country. This might point to admixture with the native peoples and would tend to corroborate the early date suggested for the cemetery.

Mr. GARRAWAY RICE had known the site for fifty years, and stated that the best of the finds in the liquorice fields between 1850 and 1860 had been given to the Surrey Archaeological Society. Remains had been found when the trees were planted along the fence. During the war he had visited the spot and impressed on the workmen the desirability of handing over any objects found to Col. Bidder's family. He himself had a bronze bowl from Mitcham of a rare Anglo-Saxon type (*Proceedings*, xxviii, 233).

Mr. DALE noted among the exhibits both long and short bracers for the shield, and recalled complete specimens found at Droxford, Hants. (*Proceedings*, xix, 129), giving a diameter of 2 ft. for the shield.

Mr. QUARRELL confirmed, from observation in a district where thin seams of coal were worked, the suggested connexion between splayed feet and the squatting position.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 20th MAY 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Ely Wilkinson Crossley, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 3rd June, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

The President referred to the recently issued Report of the Bishop of London's Commission on Churches in the City of London, and stated that he proposed to bring the matter before the Council for consideration and report to an early meeting of the Society.

G. W. KINDERSLEY, Esq., exhibited a collection of antiquities recently found at Welwyn, Hertfordshire. The collection included flint and bronze implements, and Roman glass and pottery.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH remarked on the interest of a locality that produced flint implements, Early British and Roman antiquities, and connected it with the British road from St. Albans to Stevenage. The implement was a good specimen of the St. Acheul style, and the Roman pottery dated mostly from the cremation period, before 250 A.D. The potters' marks on the red ware were much rubbed, but the place of origin was certainly Lezoux in central France. The square glass bottles owed their perfect preservation to some ingredient that resisted the acids of the soil. Of the bronzes the best were the wing of a bird, and an enamelled pendant. For the accurate dating of Roman pottery it was necessary to find more contemporary groups that had not been disturbed; and the grave-find on exhibition included a large cinerary urn not of the earliest form. Still more welcome would be further examples of Early British art to supplement the discoveries at Lockleys.

The PRESIDENT said that any Fellow would be proud to come upon such a series as Mr. Kindersley had brought for exhibition. It was clear that an early Roman cemetery had existed on the site; and whatever the destination of the finds, it was important that contemporary specimens should be kept together. Roman glass of that peculiar green colour was generally well preserved,

but other colours often became beautifully iridescent by decay. Further discoveries in the district might be confidently expected.

G. E. JEFFERY, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on the Heraldry of Cyprus:

The late Major T. J. Chamberlayne, Commissioner of Kyrenia, published in 1894 the first part of a book on such memorials of the Cyprus families of the middle ages as still survive in a few old churches (now mosques) in Nicosia, under the title *Lacrimae Nicossiensis*. In his preface he mentioned his intention of writing a second part forming a general armory of the island kingdom, but he died before accomplishing his project, and his materials seem now to be lost. The following notes on the heraldry of Cyprus, made during many years' residence in the island, may serve to some extent as a supplement to the learned Major's work, although it is much to be regretted that the fruits of his doubtless exhaustive notes and studies were not garnered by himself in his unique manner, and during his lifetime.

In the following account such of the armorials as have already appeared in the illustrations of tombstones in *Lacrimae* will be omitted as to description although included in the armory.

These armorial bearings are almost entirely without history, traditions, or any means of identification, excepting of course the small number which may be designated 'Government heraldry', and that chiefly of the Venetian period. The armorials of the Lusignan era being almost without exception carvings which display no tinctures, afford very little opportunity for identification, unless attached to an inscription.

Royal Heraldry.

The earliest example *in situ* of the Cyprus-Lusignan armorials is the set of three shields on the lintel of the refectory door of Bellapaise Abbey. These would represent King Hugh IV, and the date of 1359, when the abbey was rebuilt, is clearly indicated. The centre shield bears the five crosses of Jerusalem; the dexter one is quarterly, 1 & 4, Jerusalem, 2 & 3, barry of 14 a lion rampant (Lusignan); the sinister one, barry of 15, a lion rampant: (in the quartered shield the barry field of the third quarter runs to 19 bars). No other example of royal arms *in situ* survives in the island, except in the form of the complimentary shield which appears on the outside of Colossi Castle, and was also customarily introduced into the group of three shields over the doors of private houses of the period (fig. 1). The example on fig. 2 is an attempted restoration of an heraldic achievement which until the year 1905 survived over the door-



Fig 1. DOOR LINTEL, LARNACA.

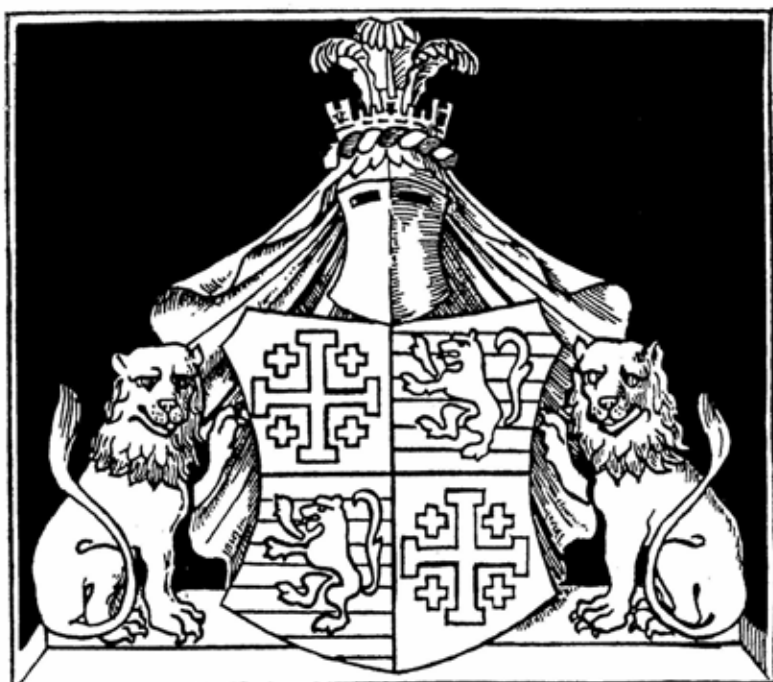


Fig. 2. RESTORATION OF ACHIEVEMENT OF ARMS, PALAZZO PUBBLICO,
NICOSIA.

way of the Venetian Palazzo Pubblico in the centre of Nicosia. Its remains are now amongst the fragments of old buildings lying in the Betestan, Nicosia. It seems to be of fifteenth-century design and workmanship, reproducing the older heraldic quarterings. A large marble slab of cruciform shape on the north side of Colossi Castle contains the royal arms of the later heraldic bearings: this was put up about the year 1455 by the knights of St. John as a compliment to the legitimate Queen Charlotte, whose cause they were supporting in the civil war raging in the island. In this case the quarterings are: 1, Jerusalem; 2, Lusignan; 3, a lion rampant crowned charged on the shoulder with a cross (Armenia); 4, a lion rampant crowned (Cyprus). This represents the introduction of argent a lion rampant gules, as arms for the kingdom of Cyprus instead of the older argent the Jerusalem crosses or. This device of a lion rampant was afterwards used by the Venetians on their small Cyprus coins, and is still (thanks to Major Chamberlayne's exertions) stamped upon the English silver coinage used in the island.

Venetian lions, winged or wingless, are to be found in different parts of the island, and it is not a little strange that the Turks should have allowed so many to remain all through the years when they were more or less at war with the Serene Republic; evidently they considered such emblems of former sovereignty unimportant. There is a legend that they allowed them to remain in the conquered provinces of the Levant as trophies of their prowess—a very different sentiment from that animating the Genoese and Venetians of a former age, who (especially the Genoese) destroyed systematically the arms of the Lusignans.

The Venetian column in the centre of Nicosia, with its armorial bearings, seems to have been intended, to judge by the inscription upon it, more as a public memorial of Doge Francesco Donato (c. 1550) than as a government symbol of authority. The two columns of the same character in front of the Palazzo del Proveditore at Famagusta were doubtless the customary twin columns found in every Venetian government capital; to the Venetians Famagusta was the more important centre and 'piazza d'armi' of the two island capitals.

ORDINARY OF SURVIVING HERALDRY IN CYPRUS IN 1919.¹

(Excluding Government and Royal badges.)

ANNULET. An annulet. 120. Fgta. Mus. Unknown. Possibly representing either Matteo Barbaro, captain of Fgta., 1488; or Cornelio Barbaro, captain, 1554. Reitstap states that the Barbaro of Venice still bears this coat of arms.

¹ The numbers refer to the shields on figs. 3-7; Nic. = Nicosia; Fgta. = Famagusta.

- BAR. Two bars, a bend over all. 157. Now at Government House, Nic. (with 17, and Royal Arms). Unknown.
- do. do. nebuly. 15. Nefin (Lacrimae. 1). 159. 'Hecatospitia', fifteenth-century house in Yeni Djami quarter, Nic. Unknown.
- do. do. on a chief a cross. 130. SS. Peter and Paul church, Fgta. Unknown.¹
- do. do. in chief three roses. 70. Latin Arcivescovado, Nic. under mitre. Nicolò Donato, bishop of Limassol, usurped primacy c. 1484, not in list of archbishops, removed by preferment. (Hackett, *Ch. of Cyp.*). 97. Venetian column, Nic. under ducal cap. Doge Francesco Donato, 1545-53, of a Venetian family of first class, the Donà, or Donati delle rose (with 98, 99, 100, and 101).
- Three bars. 131. SS. Peter and Paul, Fgta. Unknown.
166. Omorphita. Unknown.
- do. do. nebuly. 91. S. John Bibi, Nic. Unknown.
- do. do. do., a chief. 129. SS. Peter and Paul, Fgta. Unknown.
- Barry of six. 154. S. Anne's, Fgta. Unknown.
- do. do. in chief an eagle displayed. 194. Chamberlayne's chapel, Kyrenia. Unknown.
- do. do. charged with 9 crosses (4, 3, 2). 21. Prevost (Lac. 113 and 117.) With 8 crosses (4, 3, 1). 30.
- do. do. charged with 21 besants (6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1). 9. Fgta. Land Gate. 101. Venetian column, Nic. Micheli of Venice. Marco Michaeli was captain of Famagusta, 1566.
- do. do. a chief charged with a type letter C. 153. St. Anne's, Fgta. Unknown.
- Barry of 4, per fess indented (? and counterchanged). 197. Observed by M. Enlart at Fgta., 1899. Unknown.
- BEASTS. A lion rampant. 55 (Lac. 166). Unknown. 132. Unknown—not Lusignan.
- Crusily, a lion rampant. 169. On marble tabernacle, Franciscan ch., Nic. dated 1555. Unknown.
- Ermine, a lion rampant. 14. Visconti (Lac. 281).
- A lion rampant, a bend over all. 109. Fgta. Mus. Unknown. Possibly the royal arms differenced for cadency, see 209.
- A lion rampant holding flower in dexter paw. 79. Betestan, Nic. Possibly Pisani of Venice?
- A lion passant guardant. 3. Tomb, Aschelia. Elsewhere as Venetian Republic badge of St. Mark.

¹ In chief a cross was sometimes used as an augmentation for a Genoese citizen.

- A lion passant guardant in front of Castle gate. 114. Fgta. Mus. Unknown.
- Two lions face to face. 93. Arabachmet mosque (former church), Nic. Unknown.
- do. do. in chief a besant. 94. S. John Bibi, Nic. Unknown.
- Three lions rampant. 45. Du Four. (Lac. 242.)
- A lion's head erased. 171. Tombstone, Franciscan convent, Nic. Unknown.
- Three lions' heads erased. 189. Latin chapel, Kiti. Unknown.
- A lamb and flag. 1. On a vault-boss. Fgta. Mus. Probably from the Templars' church, Fgta.
- A stag tripping. 26. Gapsal. (Lac. 232.)
- Dragon. 37. De Organis. (Lac. 247.) 71. Arcivescovado, Nic. Unknown bishop.
- BEND. A bend. 187. Over doorway of Kiti watchtower. Unknown Venetian.
- do. do. nebuly. 106. Palazzo del Proveditore, Fgta. Unknown.
- do. do. indented. 138. Franciscan church, Fgta. Unknown.
- do. do. checkered. 128. Nic. Unknown.
- On a bend three aleirons. 126. Remodini. Fgta. cathedral (with 125). Lorraine.
- Between two bends sinister, three crescents. 28. Bandini. (Lac. 8.)
- A bend between two fleurs-de-lis. 69. Arcivescovado, Nic. Aldobrandino Orsini, 1502-24, 30th archbishop of Nicosia, rebuildier of the Arcivescovado.
- On a bend indented a lion passant. 105. Palazzo del Proveditore, Fgta. Possibly the Genoese family of De Marchi (with 106 and 104). This coat occurs on the citadel of Chios, dated 1400.
- Two bends lozengy. 143. Observed by M. Deschamps, 1897. Unknown and lost.
- Three bends. 98. Venetian column, Nic. Unknown. 147. Babin. Carmelite church, Fgta. Tomb of Guy Babin, 1363, and on vault-boss (with 145 and 146).
- Three bends, a cross over all. 140. Del Prisco. Franciscan church, Fgta. Tomb of Ugolino del Prisco, governor of Fgta. for Genoese Republic, 1403.
- Bendy of six sinister, and semée of flowers, probably counter-changed. 113. Fgta. Museum. Unknown.
- do. do. on a chief a demi-lion rampant. 133. On a house doorway, Fgta. Unknown.
- A bend sinister and a chief embattled, lozengy. 198. De Ligne. Tombstone now at Versailles Museum.

Between two bends three aleirons. 173. Found in Nic. (tombstone). Unknown, perhaps Lorraine badly cut.

Two bends lozengy. 143. Observed by M. Deschamps, 1897. Unknown.

BIRDS. An eagle displayed. 115. Fgta. museum. Unknown. 175. Ornithi. Unknown. 145. Carmelite church, Fgta. Unknown (with 146 and 147).

do. do. with medallion on breast charged with a figure of St. George. 160. House doorway, Nic. Possibly Orthodox church symbol.

do. do. in chief three besants. 107. Fgta. museum. Tombstone of Balanus Marabotus, Genoese, 1322.

do. do. crowned, on a chief a bar. 139. Franciscan church, Fgta. Tombstone of Antonio di Sant' Anna, Genoese, 14...

A double-headed eagle displayed. This badge occurs as an Orthodox church symbol, and in one instance (Betestan, Nic.) as a supporter of the royal arms of the fifteenth-century style.

Two doves back to back, in chief a star. 60. Unknown. (Lac. 71.)

A bird's wing, in chief a fleur-de-lis. 162. Omologiatides church near Nicosia. Sixteenth century. Unknown.¹

BONES. Three pairs of rib-bones fesswise in pale, on a chief a lion passant. 78. On doorway of Betestan, Nic. This coat of arms occurs on the base of the Virgin's throne in the picture by Giorgione for Costanzo family, Duomo of Castelfranco, 1504. This family was important in Cyprus, and a bastion of Nicosia fortress was named after it.

CANAL BRIDGE. A Venetian canal bridge surmounted by a cross, and the same surmounted by a lion of St. Mark. 76 and 77. Two shields side by side over entrance to Betestan, Nic. Sixteenth century. Unknown (with 78, 79, and 80).

CANDLESTICK. A seven-branched candlestick. 196. Observed at Fgta. by M. Enlart, 1899. Unknown.

CASTLE. A castle. 85. At Chrysaliniotissa church, Nic. Unknown. The Giustiniani of Genoa bear gules a castle argent, on a chief or an eagle sable crowned or.

do. in chief two unknown objects. 119. Fgta. museum, from site of Arsenal, Fgta. Unknown.

CHESSROOK. A fess and in base three (?) chessrooks. 42. Doudiac. (Lac. 272.)

¹ The name Canali seems indicated—a certain Agostino Canali, member of the Council of Six in the Venetian administration, is commemorated by a sarcophagus in Nicosia, dated 16 Oct. 1553.

CHEVRON. A chevron. 117. Fgta. Museum. Sixteenth century. Unknown.

do. between three crosses. 35. Milmars. (Lac. 151.)

do. between three crescents. 188. Doorway of Kiti watch-tower. Sixteenth century (with 187). Unknown.

do. between three roses. 123. West front Fgta. cathedral for Pietro Ragazzoni, one of the last bishops of Fgta., builder of the loggia in the parvis.

do. between ten crosses. 193. Chamberlayne's chapel, Kyrenia. Unknown.

do. in chief three sexfoils. 25. Da Bergamo. (Lac. 240.)

do. and in chief three six-pointed mullets. 75. Fragment in Betestan, Nic.

Three chevrons. 84 and 155. Ag. Yeorghi church, Nic., and over doorway of house in Cathedral Close, Nic. (both cases with 83, Gourri). Unknown.

do. do. between the upper and middle a star. 27. De Baubigni. (Lac. 4.) Reitstap gives modern arms of Daubigni = Az. three chevrons or; but Philip d'Aubigni, buried in front of the Holy Sepulchre church, Jerusalem, bore a fess indented of four points.

CHIEF. A chief lozengy. 20. Rousiau. (Lac. 273.)

do. indented. Jacques de Milli, Grand Master of St. John; Colossi castle. 38,

On a chief three crosses formy. 17. De Nores. (Lac. 244.) 181. Morfu monastery (with 182).

On a chief three lozenges. 92. St. John Bibi, Nic. Unknown.

CROSS. Occurring throughout Cyprus history. Possibly as a Templar badge in early times, and later for the Order of St. John.

A cross. 81. Probably symbol of a cleric on a house in Cathedral close, Nic. (with 82). 95. Armenian cemetery, Nic. (with 96). Probably used as 81. 148. Carmelite church, Fgta. Painted on wall as: Az. a cross or (Armenia?). 13. Angulier. (Lac. 183.) 134. Fragments in Fgta. museum. Unknown.

A cross formy throughout. 36. Milmars. (Lac. 19.¹) 52. Unknown. (Lac. 24.)

A cross potent throughout. 64. Unknown. 182. Morfu monastery (with 181). Unknown. With an anchored foot. 185. Doorway of Convent of Cats. Unknown.

do. moline. 62. Unknown. (Lac. 228.)

do. of Toulouse. 18. Antiaume. (Lac. 86.)

¹ It will be observed that No. 19 of Lac. does not agree with No. 151.

- A cross, potent, of Lorraine, the lower bar cramponée. 142.
 Observed by M. Deschamps, 1897.
- do. the upright bar throughout, the horizontal bar coupé. 54. Unknown. (Lac. 76.)
- do. a pale over a fess. 47. Ponsan. (Lac. 213.)
- do. the upright bar potent, the horizontal bar coupé. 136.
 On a wall painting, Franciscan church, Fgta.: Argent a cross sable. Unknown.
- do. crosslet fitchy. 121. Episcopal badge on tombstone of Bishop de Nabinaux, Fgta. cathedral (with 122). A cross seems to have been usual on houses and tombstones of ecclesiastics in addition to family arms.
- do. between four keys erect, wards outwards. 186. Convent of Cats, Acrotiri. ? Bishopric of Beauvais.
- do. formed of five lozenges. 172. Unknown.
- On a cross, five scutcheons. 46. Mirabeau. (Lac. 225.)
- Three crosses formy. 167. Omorphita church. Unknown.
- Jerusalem. 146. Carmelite church, Fgta. Possibly an old royal badge re-used.
- Crusily, a cross. 168. Asha church. Unknown.
- ESTOILE. An estoile of seven points. 179. Lysi church. Unknown.
- Three estoiles. 102. Drinking fountain, Nic. Unknown.
- And on a tombstone, Nic. cathedral. (Lac. 262.)
- FESS. A fess. Jean de Lastic. Grand Master of St. John. Colossi Castle. 10. Lambert. (Lac. 221.) 12. Thenouri. (Lac. 22.) 31, 33: with a label, 32. Tabarie. (Lac. 223.) 127. Chapel in Fgta. cathedral. Unknown.
- do. checkered. 8. On Land gate, Fgta. Unknown (with 9).
- do. dancetty. 65. Unknown. (Lac. 291.)
- do. between three fleurs-de-lis. 96. Armenian cemetery, Nic. Unknown (with 95).
- do. between six fleurs-de-lis. (3 and 3). 34. On tombstone of Alice Tabarie in Armenian church, Nic. Probably represents the family of Beduin, from whom she was descended. 177. Lysi church. Beduin? (Lac. 224.) It occurs elsewhere in Cyprus. (Lac. 224.)
- do. in chief a hand and arm. 48. Tinghi. (Lac. 85.)
- do. in chief two capital letters B. 124. Tombstone, Fgta. cathedral. Unknown. ? Bramini.
- do. in chief three sexfoils. 118. Fgta. Museum. Unknown.
- do. checkered between three branches of a tree erect. 61. Unknown. (Lac. 191.)
- FISH. Two fish back to back. 11. Dampierre (Lac. 226.) 73. Nameless sarcophagus, Betestan, Nic. Tombstone of

Brochard de Charpigny, from Limmasol now in the Louvre, Paris, has two similar fish at feet of effigy.

A cuttlefish. 164. House door, Palliouriotissa. Unknown.

FLOWERS. A rose, in chief a Maltese cross. 151. St. Anne's, Fgta. Unknown. Painted wall decoration: Azure, a rose gules, in chief a cross pattée of the same fimbriated or.

The arms of Florence. 19. Boncanelli. (Lac. 274.)

Three quatrefoils, on a chief a demi-eagle. 170. Unknown.

Six roses (3, 2, 1). 59. Unknown. (Lac. 111.)

Ten fleurs-de-lis (4, 3, 2, 1). 66. Unknown. (Lac. 5.)

FUSILS. Three fusils conjoined. 190. Tombstone of Brochard de Charpigny (now in Louvre, Paris).

HAND. A right hand holding a flower. 80. Doorway of the Betestan, Nic. It has been suggested that this may represent the Verdizotti of Venice.

HEADS. See under Beasts.

INESCUTCHEON. Within an orle of billets. 174. Unknown.

LETTERS. A capital M surmounted by a cross. 63. Tombstone of lady. Unknown. (Lac. 245.)

Two capital B's back to back, surmounted by a cross. 110.

Vaulting bosses of Greek Orthodox cathedral, Fgta. Possibly a merchant's mark. Found elsewhere in Cyprus.

LOZENGY. Lozengy. 23 and with a label 24. Neville. (Lac. 150 and 137.) Major Chamberlayne traces some connexion between these Nevilles of Cyprus and the famous English family. The Nevills of Bulmer are said to have borne or fretty gules, on a canton argent a ship sable, and some resemblance between the Bulmer coat and that of the Cyprus Nevills may perhaps be traced.

Lozengy, a chief. 137. Franciscan church, Fgta. Unknown.

MONSTERS. See under Beasts.

PALE. A pale charged with a bar. 50. Unknown. (Lac. 10.)

Three pales. 40. De Bries. (Lac. 287.) 43. De Veib. (Lac. 267.)

Three pales, each charged with three estoiles. 144. Unknown. Observed by M. Deschamps, 1897.

Paly, a chief. 7. Nicolò Prioli, captain of Fgta., 1495.

72. Sebastian Prioli, archbishop (formerly on Arcivescovo, Nic.) 1495-1502.

PARTED. Per pale, sinister a rose. 22. Cornaro. (Lac. 246.) Cornaro dell' Episcopia, a branch of the family, settled in Cyprus.

do. dexter, a castle; sinister, a lion rampant. 51. Unknown. (Lac. 23.)

do. dexter, a fess, in chief a rose, in base 3 bends, sinister a lion. 192. Chrysaliniotissa church, Nic.

- Per pale. dexter, on a ladder a falcon ; sinister, barry of 12.
161. Unknown.
- do. dexter, a six-pointed estoile ; sinister, a cross potent.
180. Lysi church. Unknown (with 179).
- do. dexter, a cross ; sinister, a fess. 165. Omorphita church.
Unknown.
- do. indented. 99. Venetian column, Nic. Unknown
(with 97, 98, 100, 101).
- Per fess. 104. Palazzo del Proveditore, Fgta. Unknown.
150. Carmelite church, Fgta. From the church of the
Hospitaliers. Probably for Fregasi of Genoa.
- do. dancetty. 38. Moustri. (Lac. 25.) 53. Unknown.
(Lac. 41.)
- do. wavy, on a chief a cross. 135. Fgta. Museum. Arms
of a knight of St. John. Unknown.
- do. two roses, counterchanged. 163. Palliouriotissa church,
Mocenigo. Possibly for Philip Mocenigo, last Latin arch-
bishop of Cyprus.
- do. six roses, counterchanged. 152. St. Anne's church,
Fgta. Wall painting : Per fess or and argent, six roses
counterchanged, for Doge Pietro Loredano, 1567-70, whose
arms were Per fess or and azure, six roses counterchanged.
- do. six crosses formy, counterchanged (3 and 3). 178.
Lysi church. Unknown (with 177).
- do. a lion rampant, counterchanged. 58. Unknown.
(Lac. 70.)
- Per bend, a scutcheon, counterchanged, a label of 3 points.
39. De Fois. (Lac. 288.)
- do. two lions rampant counterchanged. 116. Fgta.
Museum. Unknown.
- do. sinister, two bends and plain, a chief plain. 125. Remo-
dini. Fgta. cathedral (with 126).
- PASTORAL STAFF. A pastoral staff between three lions' heads
erased. 122. De Nabinaux. Fgta. cathedral (with 121).
- PYX. A pyx. 183. Convent of Cats, Acrotiri. Possibly
badge of convent (with 184, 185, 186).
- QUARTERLY. Quarterly plain. 100. Venetian column, Nic.
? Querini of Venice.
- do. a cross formy in the second quarter. 112. Fgta.
Museum. Unknown.
- do. per saltire, plain. 111. Fgta. Museum. Unknown.
- do. a fleur-de-lis in each quarter. 6. De Magnac. Colossi
Castle.
- do. 1 and 4, Argent a chief azure ; 2 and 3, Gules a cross
sable. 149. Wall painting in quire of Carmelite church,
Fgta. Unknown.

- Quarterly, 1 and 4, a sun in splendour; 2 and 3, a lion rampant. 41. Gourri. (Lac. 278.) 83. House in Cathedral close, Nic., and elsewhere in Cyprus (with 84).
 do. 1 and 4, a saltire indented; 2 and 3, five fleurs-de-lis in saltire. 44. Aubergier. (Lac. 250.)
 do. 1 and 4, a cross; 2 and 3, barry of six. Betestan, Nic. Probably a rough rendering of the royal arms.
 do. 1 and 4, a chevron; 2 and 3, a fess, in chief three roses. 86. Chrysalinotissa church, Nic. Unknown.
 do. 1 and 4, bendy of six; 2 and 3, a lion's head erased and a cross on a mount, barwise. 89. Tripiotissa church, Nic. This is evidently an alliance between the Podocataro family (see arms of Archbishop Podocataro in S. Sebastiano, Venice) and an unknown family bearing: Bendy of six.
 do. 1, a fleur-de-lis; 2, a lion's head erased; 3, a cross on a mount; 4, a wing. 90. Tripiotissa church, Nic. This represents an alliance between the Podocataro family and an unknown family which is represented by 162 on a tombstone at Omologiatides church, Nic.
 do. 1 and 4, a pine cone; 2 and 3, plain. 67. De Pins? Chantry of Nic. cathedral.
SERPENT. Three serpents, on a chief a cross. 195. Tombstone of Caesar Kariotis, Glykiotissa church near Kyrenia, 1546. Curious native memorial in European style.
TREES. A palm tree eradicated. 49. De Larbre. (Lac. 289.)
 82. On house in Cathedral Close, Nic.
 do. between two lions rampant face to face. 108. Fgta. Museum.
 A rose bush eradicated. 57. Unknown. (Lac. 87.)
 A vine of two stems intertwined, eradicated. 176. Unknown.
 A branch of a tree erect, a fess over all. 56. Zaiet? (Lac. 114.) The ancient family of Antioche of Languedoc bore the branch of a tree, or fern.
 Three pine apples. 68. De Pins? On walls of chantry, Nic. cathedral (with 67).
MERCHANT'S MARK. An orb surmounted by a cross. 141. Jacme Olevier, merchant of Montpellier, founder of a famous Levantine 'maison de commerce'. Franciscan church, Fgta. 1333.
 In the Correr Museum on the Grand Canal, Venice, is an heraldic codex of the sixteenth century marked [P. D. 32. C.] in which among various coats of arms of the period are a few designated 'Cipica', or 'Cipriote'. These Cyprus bearings are as follows:

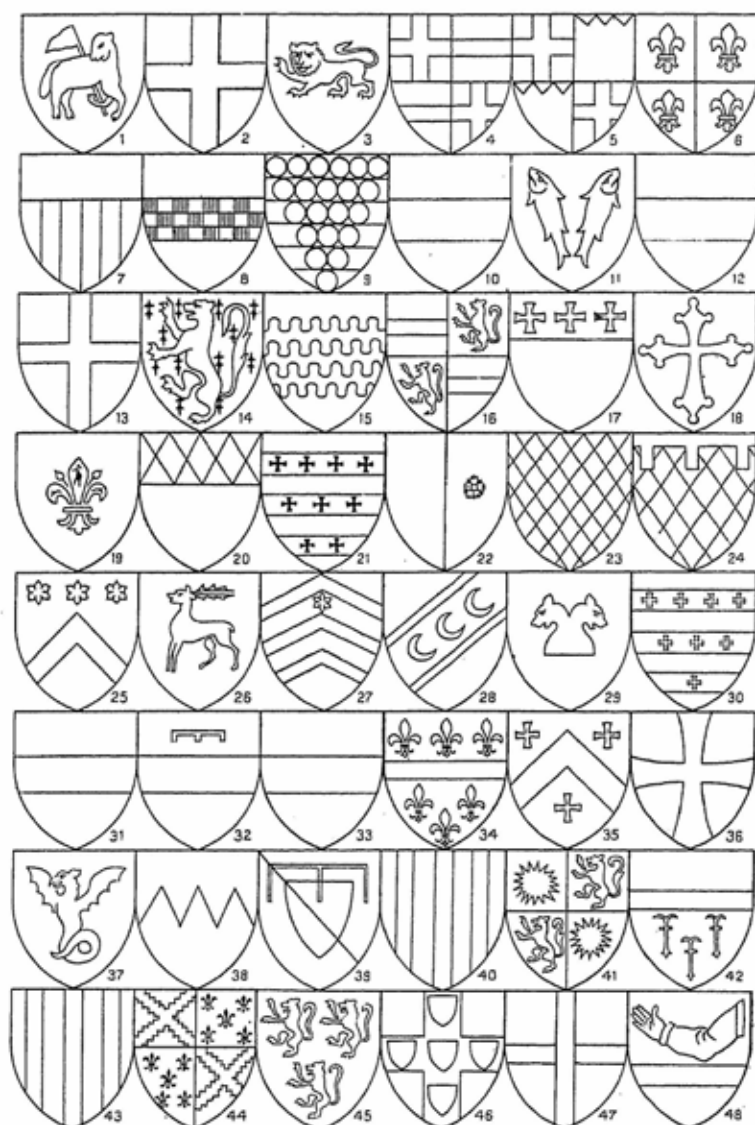


Fig. 3. CYPRUS HERALDRY, nos. 1-48.

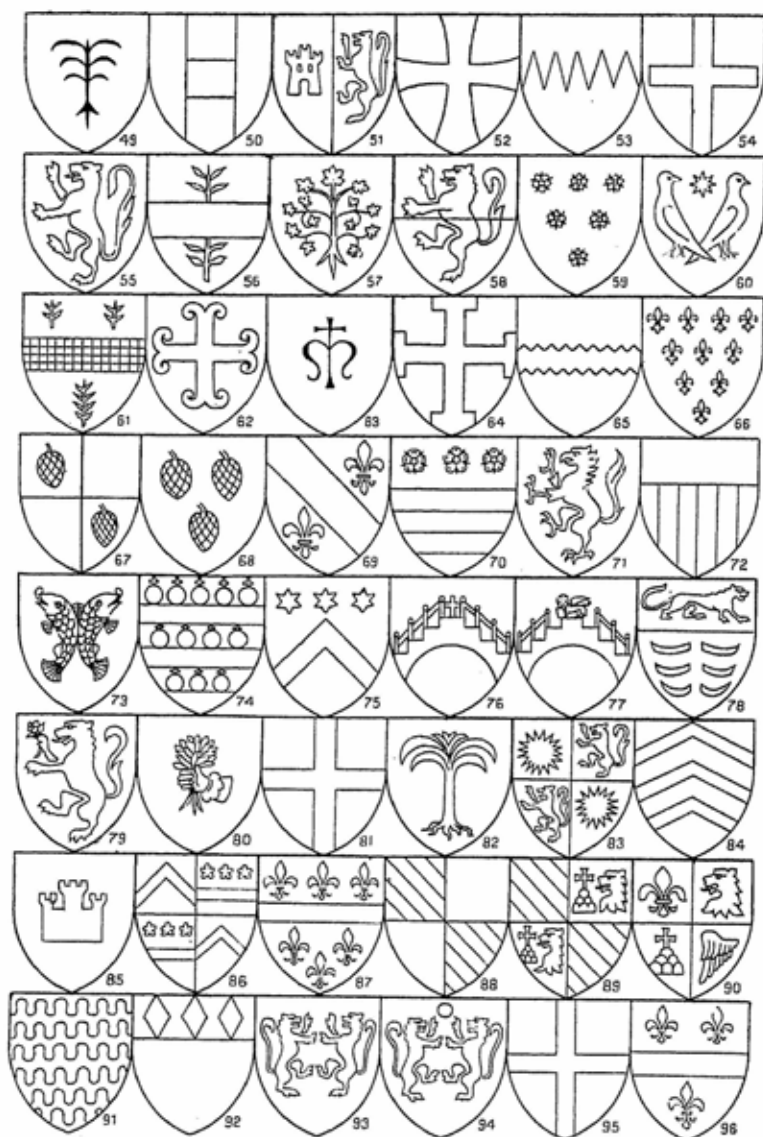


Fig. 4. CYPRUS HERALDRY, NOS. 49-96.

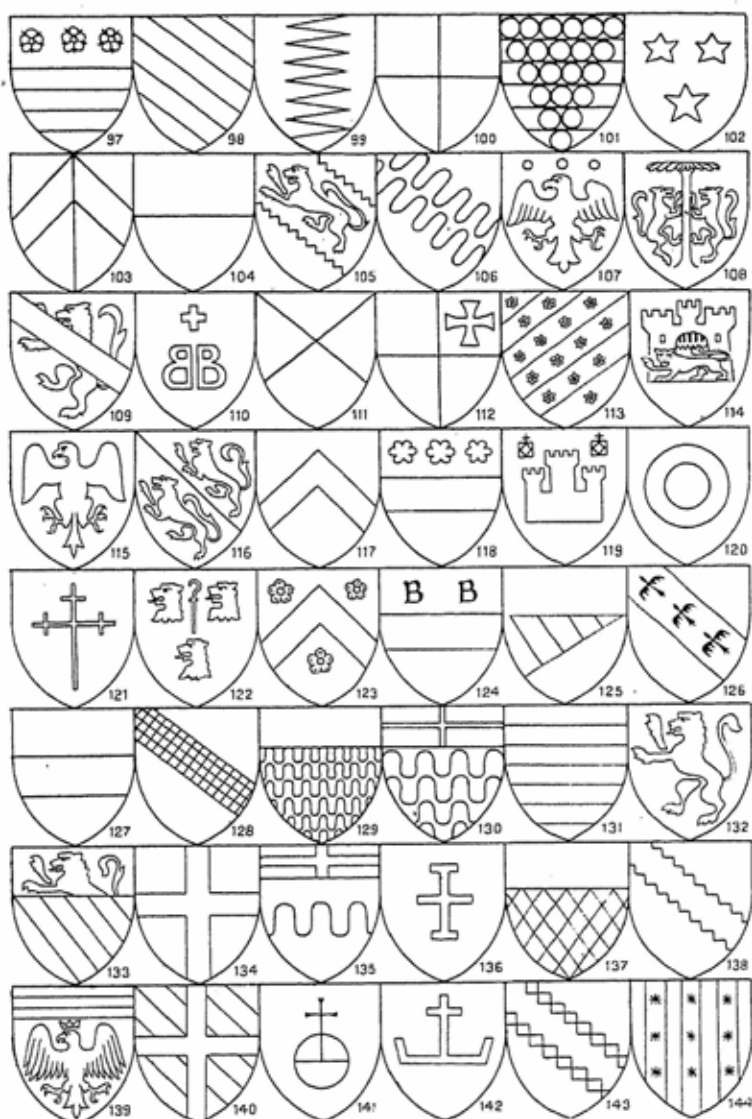


Fig. 5. CYPRUS HERALDRY, NOS. 97-144.

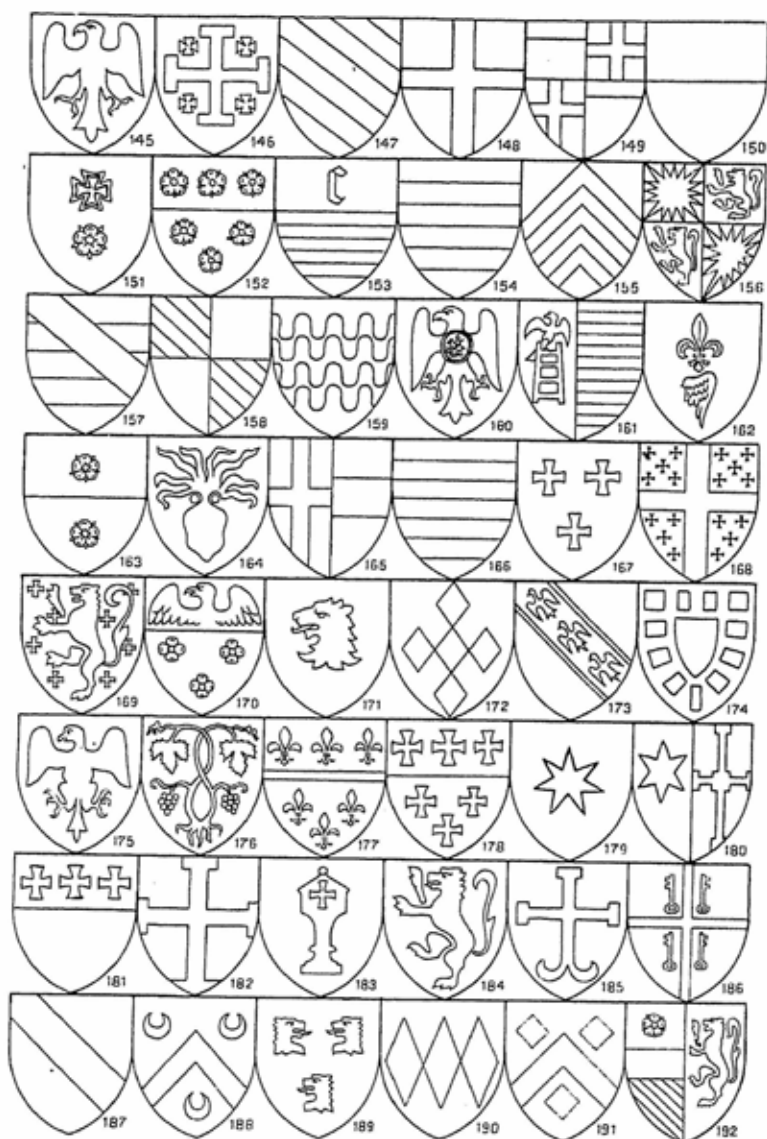


Fig. 6. CYPRUS HERALDRY, NOS. 145-192.

199. Gules a lion rampant crowned or, within a bordure argent charged with eight crosses formy or.

200. Per pale, dexter plain; sinister, gules three bends sable.

201. (no tinctures) Per fess, a right arm, in chief a besant between two fleurs-de-lis.

202. Azure, on a chief or, a dove between two crosses or.

203. (no tinctures) Two bends checkered between a rose and two crosses in pale, the rose in the fess point.

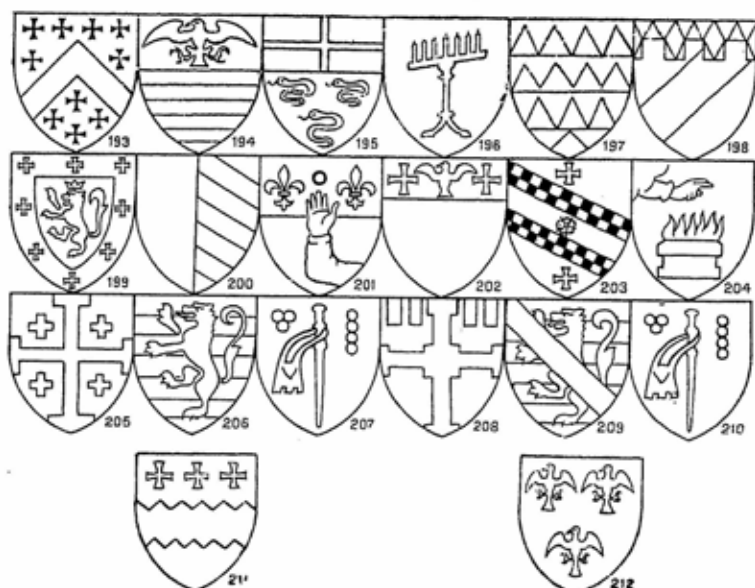


Fig. 7. CYPRUS HERALDRY, NOS. 193-212.

204. (no tinctures) An altar with its fire, in chief issuant from a cloud a hand in benediction. This last appears to be little more than an 'impresa', and can hardly rank as heraldry. Unfortunately no names are given to these coats of arms. Amongst Venetian bearings in this codex are one or two resembling existing shields in Cyprus, e.g.: 79. under the name Cabrun, 'arme che non sono di gentilhomini'. 109. A precisely similar coat is given for the Paduan family of Lioni, which Reitstap blazons: Az. a lion or, on a bend or three roses gules. 133. The same coat is given as: Bendy az. and gules, on a chief or a demi-lion rampant gules. 98. Seems to resemble the coat of the great Contarini family: Or, three bends azure. The Contarini of Venice were hereditary barons of Paffo in Cyprus.

Two groups of shields, relating to a royal benefaction or

foundation—each consisting of three coats of arms—are preserved in the Franciscan church, Nicosia. They are the only existing examples of such memorials with the exception of the royal arms at Bellapaise, above described.¹ The convent or monastery to which they belonged is unknown. In the first group, 205 and 206 are the usual thirteenth-century type of royal arms not quartered. 207 is the badge of the Order, a pilgrim's staff and scrip in pale, three besants (or loaves ?) on the dexter side, and four on the sinister. In the second group, 208 and 209 are curious as representing the royal arms as before but for the omission of the four small crosses in the Jerusalem shield, and for the cadency marks which differ in each case—a label over the Jerusalem shield, a bend over the Lusignan barry and lion rampant. 210 is the same badge as 207. The two groups probably signify the foundation and patronage of the monastery by a king of Cyprus and his eldest son the Prince of Antioch.

211 and 212. Two shields from brass seal-matrices preserved in the Cyprus Museum. The first is inscribed S. ARNEIS DE GIBLET; the second appears to be inscribed S. FILIPI MAROCELLI.

The first of these seals evidently belonged to the Sire Arneis, Hernaud, or Arnaud de Gibelet, second son of Rainier le Vieux, referred to by Chamberlayne in *Lacrimæ*, p. 74. Philip de Navarre mentions him with eulogy in different parts of his *Gestes de Chiprois*, and he appears to have occupied important posts in the government of the kingdom during the thirteenth century. In 1232 he was the acting governor during the absence of Jean d'Ibelin le Vieux, sire de Baruth, and various acts of the High Court are signed by him between 1220 and 1239. It has been supposed that he may have been the author of the Continuation of William of Tyre's Chronicle. His arms were: A fess indented, in chief 3 crosses formy.

There appear to have been several families taking their name of Giblet from the small (and still well preserved) crusading port of Djbeil, on the Syrian coast opposite Cyprus. This little maritime fortress was founded by the Genoese family of Imbriaco, or Embriac, and other Genoese crusaders in 1109, as a colonial settlement of the Genoese Republic. The Imbriaci afterwards changed their name into de Giblet, and their coat of arms, according to Franzone, 'Armi delle casate nobili di Genova,' was: Or, three lions sable.

The second seal is smaller and not so well preserved as the first. The Italian name Marocelli, or Mavroceli, does not appear

¹ On certain Orthodox medieval monasteries there are very imperfectly carved shields which may represent the royal arms of the Lusignans.

on any of the tombstones which survive in Cyprus, nor is it prominent in Cyprus history. The family coat of arms was: Three eagles displayed.

Rev. E. E. DORLING had listened to the paper with interest, but thought that more of the arms could have been identified without much trouble. It should be easy, for instance, to name the individuals whose arms appeared on the Venetian column. He could not entirely approve of the incorporation of ancient sculpture in a modern church, and thought the lozengy coat belonged to Grimaldi rather than Nevill. Heraldry required care and accuracy, and was a byway of history that should be trodden with reverence. Many of the coats bore merchants' marks and belonged to persons below heraldic rank.

The PRESIDENT thought there was no country in the Mediterranean area so prolific of medieval remains as Cyprus, and heraldry reflected the history of that period. He was surprised to find how few in that large series of coats had been identified, though the Genoese and Venetian arms could be easily distinguished. Heraldry was of immense value in archaeological study, but was a difficult pursuit in the absence of colours.

Mr. JEFFERY replied that the lozengy coat of the tombstones was remarkable inasmuch as the deceased was in both cases specifically named Nevill. Mr. Chamberlayne's motive in building the church was not to deceive posterity but to provide a museum for the preservation of stray monuments. In the absence of tinctures, he had not ventured far on the path of identification.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this exhibition and communication.

THURSDAY, 3rd JUNE 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Philip Guyon Laver, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

W. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a small greenstone celt from Jamaica.

MILL STEPHENSON, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited and presented two groups of sons from monumental brasses and a brass shield of the arms of England. Thanks were returned to Mr. Stephenson for this gift.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared duly elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Eugénie Strong, Litt.D., LL.D., proposed by the Council, *honoris causa*.

Miss Rose Graham, proposed by the Council, *honoris causa*.

Ellis Hovell Minns, Esq., M.A.

Canon Thomas Alexander Lacey, M.A.

Charles Johnson, Esq., M.A.

Herbert John Fleure, Esq., D.Sc.

Henry Philip Burke Downing, Esq.

Thomas Edward Goodyear, Esq.

Col. Ernest St. Clair Pemberton.

Frank Lambert, Esq., M.A.

Rev. Anchtel Harry Fletcher Boughey, M.A.

Herbert Chitty, Esq.

William Gurney Benham, Esq.

Honorary Fellow :

Dr. Aimé Rutot.

THURSDAY, 10th JUNE 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows :

Ian Campbell Hannah, Esq., M.A.

Henry Philip Burke Downing, Esq.

Herbert Chitty, Esq.

Col. Ernest St. Clair Pemberton.

Frank Lambert, Esq., M.A.

Charles Johnson, Esq., M.A.

Thomas Edward Goodyear, Esq.

William Gurney Benham, Esq.

The SECRETARY read the following memorial on the subject of the threatened destruction of nineteen churches in the City of London, as recommended by the report of the London Churches Commission, 1919:

The publication of the report of the Bishop of London's Commission on the City Churches, recommending the disuse and complete or partial demolition of no less than nineteen churches, of which thirteen are the work of Sir Christopher Wren, has created a situation which demands the closest scrutiny.

The Society of Antiquaries of London, while recognizing the need for a change in the present organization of the City parishes, is confident that by adopting the drastic recommendations of the report the Church will stand to lose far more than she will gain.

Greatly as we must deplore the splendid buildings destroyed by the Fire of London, their loss provided an opportunity such as seldom comes to any nation, and it was the great good fortune of England that the rebuilding of the City churches could be put into the hands of Sir Christopher Wren.

At the time of his death in 1723, at the age of ninety-one, some fifty churches, designed by his hand, adorned the rebuilt City, a priceless and unique record of the life-work of one of the greatest English architects.

Of the building of these churches a complete account is preserved. Not only do we know the dates when they were begun and finished, but we have every detail of their cost, and, what is even more valuable, the name of every craftsman employed on them, whether as mason, carpenter, joiner, plasterer, smith, or in other trades. All materials for a close and critical study of the craftsmanship of the end of the seventeenth century are ready to our hands, so long as the buildings themselves are preserved.

Nor is it only in their architectural merit that their value lies. Owing to the necessity for re-building the City on its old lines, the new churches preserved the site plans of their predecessors, and in many cases included parts of their fabrics, preserving for us much of the topography of the medieval city which had been so completely swept away, and giving a historical continuity which added just that element of tradition and romance to which the new buildings by themselves could never attain.

Since they were built the conditions of life in London have entirely changed. The business population, whose homes are elsewhere, has increased enormously. The residents have dwindled to a comparatively insignificant number. The values of the sites have grown out of all proportion to what they were in the seventeenth century, while the congregations of the churches are in many cases reduced to a mere handful. Already seventeen of Wren's churches have been destroyed, and if the present report

is adopted, no less than thirty out of the original fifty will have disappeared. Some readjustment is needed, but not one which will inflict so heavy a loss on future ages. Something of the full pecuniary value of the churches and their sites must be foregone in order to preserve what no money can buy. A redistribution of their endowments has long been overdue, but to deal with ancient and historical sites as if they were occupied by nothing better than obsolete industrial buildings is a policy which no pecuniary gain can justify. Churches no longer needed for their original purpose, if such exist, should be put to some use which is not inconsistent with their preservation, and it is to such matters that the efforts of the Commission should be directed.

The PRESIDENT moved that the Report be accepted, that it be forwarded to the Bishop of London and communicated to the Press.

Bishop BROWNE said the Bishop of London's Commission consisted of six City men and four others—Lord Hugh Cecil, who was against any removal, the Archdeacon of London and himself, both far from being iconoclasts, and Lord Phillimore, a representative High-church layman. The present situation, which was a danger to the Church of England, could not continue, and if there were an outbreak the church-system of London would be the first point of attack. He had not heard a word as to the monetary value of the sites till a conclusion had been reached as to the number of churches required for parochial use. The Commission then determined to put the whole matter before the public, and it became necessary to estimate the site-values. That was carried out by three leading surveyors. Removal was recommended because it was advisable to prepare the public for the worst; but it was clear from the first that there was no intention of pulling down nineteen churches at once and selling their sites. A decision would have to be reached with regard to the treatment of the disused churches, and a compromise was essential. The Corporation and the public would have to face the prospect of maintaining nineteen museums in the City. Only under the Union of Benefices Act could buildings be erected on a church-site, and he thought that all the cases in question should be put under that Act. Owing to the omission of churches from the Ancient Monuments Act, the Church had undertaken to set up in each diocese a committee to discuss any proposed alterations before they were carried out.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY desired information on certain points. With regard to procedure, would an Act of Parliament be

required to enable the authorities to pull down the churches? Even if it were too late to enter a protest in due form, was there no other hope of saving the churches? At some moment the fabric would cease to be used for public worship, and a church could then be scheduled as an ancient monument and so protected. He would like the legal position made clear, and hoped the situation would be considered on broad lines. Personally he was unmoved by the threat of destruction, as the churches stood for a great deal in the busiest part of London, where most other buildings were devoted to money-making. He had asked the First Commissioner of Works to enlarge the Act so as to include churches and cathedrals, and a departmental committee had been promised to draw up the proposed legislation.

Mr. C. H. HORWOOD said it had been denied that the authorities of All Hallows, Lombard Street, approved of the destruction of their church; and the churchyards having been valued, a recent congress of London parishioners had determined not to sell their dead. He had seen City churches ruined owing to the introduction of unsuitable incumbents by the Church authorities; and he knew that others which were better served had crowded congregations.

LORD NORTHBOURNE was inclined to support Sir Martin Conway. The public should know the facts, and as the church was a witness, it was scandalous to remove it. St. John's, Drury Lane, had at one time fallen into discredit and the congregation had dwindled to one. As patron he was asked to transfer the endowment, but he could never approve such a course of action. The church was now once again a centre of activity.

The PRESIDENT said the resolution, when passed, would be sent to the Bishop of London, to the Press, and any others specially concerned. He felt more in agreement with Sir Martin Conway than with Bishop Browne, and had, in addressing the Society on St. George's day, appealed against materialism. The present proposal was an object lesson, and he thought it ill-advised to remove from the business world these symbols of the country's faith.

The report was accepted *nemine contradicente*.

Bishop G. F. BROWNE read a paper on the Stone Circles of Aberdeenshire, in which he showed on the screen ground-plans of the stone circles of Midmar, Sin Hinny, Auquhorthies, Castle Frazer, and Dyce, and photographs of the circles and of their special feature—the massive recumbent stone with two tall flankers

at or about the south-west of the circle. These recumbent stones weigh from ten to twenty-five tons, and the two flanking pillars are the highest stones of the circles, from eight to nine feet high. The whole number of the stones in a circle, including the recumbent stone, is usually twelve. There is a large number of examples of recumbent stones in a small area of Aberdeenshire, probably forty or fifty, and there are traditions of still larger numbers. In two of the cases shown on the screen there are cup-markings on the recumbent stone.

The Bishop claimed this group as the only known survival of the most complete apparatus of the rites of Art Magic, known as Druidism. Julius Caesar stated that though the great annual meeting of the Druid hierarchy was in his time held in Gaul, Britain was the centre of the art, and those who wished to study it went to Britain for the purpose. Pliny stated that though the art originated in Persia under Zoroaster, it was carried to such a pitch of ceremony in Britain that you might suppose the Britons taught it to the Persians. Those writers made human sacrifice a great feature of the art. The Bishop claimed the recumbent stone as the sacrificial stone.

The magician, standing at the centre of the sacrificial stone and looking across the centre of the circle, would see the sun rise at midsummer if the stone and flankers were at the due south-west. If they were a little more to the west, he would see the sun rise on May-day, the beltane day. Those were the chief days of solar observation. If the stone and flankers were a little more to the south, he would not see the sun rise, and the apparatus was for stellar observation, to mark the rise of some prominent star. The solar observation made the circle a day clock, the stellar a night clock. There are examples of these three positions.

The Bishop is developing these views in a book on the subject.

Mr. QUARRELL inquired whether search had been made farther north in Nairn and Elgin, where smaller stone circles existed, especially in the parish of Urquhart. He was informed that some of the standing stones had been broken up for gate-posts, but knew of no recumbent stone in those parts.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH asked if examples were known anywhere else, and thought that there were enough in the county to fix the Aberdeen type. There, if anywhere in Britain, Scandinavian influence might be expected, but he knew of no parallels across the North Sea. The circles seemed more closely allied to Avebury than to Stonehenge, and might date about 3,000 B.C. It was curious that there were so many of the same kind in a limited area, though 'altar-stones' were known elsewhere: the flat stone

was evidently essential, but he was reluctant to connect it with human sacrifice, at a date presumably long before the Druids.

Bishop BROWNE replied that he had failed to find similar circles or even recumbent stones of that kind elsewhere; and suggested that each community in the district had its own circle. He looked upon the monuments as the primitive equivalent of the village church, and thought that if the megaliths served any astronomical purpose they corresponded to the village clock of modern times.

The PRESIDENT found the chronology a puzzle, but said that all would agree as to the interest of such prehistoric monuments. Some kind of orientation had been made out, but it would be unwise to use delicate mathematical instruments in such investigations. Approximate results alone could be expected, but even these might be significant.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 17th JUNE 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Miss Rose Graham.

Harry Tapley Soper, Esq.

The Rev. EDMUND H. FELLOWES, M.A., Mus. Doc., read the following paper on Elizabethan Madrigals:

In addressing the members of such a Society as this it would be superfluous for me to emphasize the greatness and variety of the achievements of our ancestors in the later days of Queen Elizabeth's reign. That was an age when this country produced great warriors, great statesmen, great explorers and adventurers; and side by side with the stirring episodes with which the immortal names of Sir Francis Drake, Lord Howard of Effingham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others are associated, the arts of peace flourished with equal brilliance; it was the golden age of English literature and the drama, the age of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson, Bacon, Spenser, and Sidney. And here I reach a

point at which I must pause for brief comment. I am addressing an audience consisting of men of special knowledge in various fields of research and learning, but an audience that does not as a whole lay claim to musical knowledge in any special degree; and I dare venture the remark that few of you may be aware that music in England in the days of Shakespeare shone with a brilliance well-nigh equal to that of the great dramatists and poets; that England stood first among the musical nations of the world; that England could boast a national school of composers of the very highest class; that a high degree of practical skill in music was regarded as an essential accomplishment for an ordinary English gentleman; that the rank and file of the English people cared for, and could sing and play, the best music of their own time.

There is something very strange in our national attitude towards music, and in the place occupied by music in our educational system, which must be held accountable for the complete ignorance upon this subject which is confessed without the smallest sense of shame by numbers of those whose learning and culture in other directions command admiration and respect. I am not for a moment suggesting that music should form an indispensable feature in the education of every English citizen, still less that a technical musical training should be forced upon every English child, but I say without hesitation that all Englishmen should know of the bare existence of our great national school of musicians which flourished at the close of the sixteenth century; and a thrill of pride should be awakened in the breast of any Englishman when the names of Byrd, Morley, Wilbye, Dowland, and many more are recalled, just as it is when the names of our great national poets and painters are mentioned. It is my own experience to find, for example, that the name of John Dowland is practically unknown to-day except to a mere handful of his countrymen,—Dowland, the brilliant lutanist and composer, who began his career as a youth attached, in some minor office, to the British embassy in Paris, who subsequently visited all the countries in Europe and enjoyed an enormous reputation throughout the Continent, playing with unprecedented skill on the lute, and singing and playing his own airs to lute accompaniment written to the matchless verse of the English poets who were his contemporaries. Incidentally he became the intimate friend of Luca Marenzio, perhaps the greatest of the Italian madrigalists. It is not surprising that his praise was sung by the poets when we consider his fame in his own day. But to-day his name is almost unknown. This might have been readily explained if his music had lost its value in the meanwhile; in every phase of life thousands of names have perished com-

pletely which at one time were accounted great. But the case of Dowland is different; his songs are as beautiful and as effective to-day as they were more than three hundred years ago; Dowland, the Englishman, may be placed unhesitatingly with Schubert among the greatest of the world's song-writers of all time. This is a fact of which every Englishman, whether he studies music or not, and even if he dislikes music, should at least be aware. Dowland's works are part of the great literature of the Elizabethan Age, and we should be proud of them as we are proud of the other great achievements of our own countrymen.

I have digressed a little from my main theme this evening, which purports to treat of the Elizabethan Madrigal. But, incidentally, it is necessary to clear away some confusion, which exists even in musical circles, as to the classification of the secular vocal music of this date; and what I have said about Dowland bears directly upon this point. The secular vocal music ranges itself into two very distinct classes: firstly, the madrigal, which was a polyphonic composition designed primarily for combinations of unaccompanied voices; secondly, the lute-song, or 'ayre', as it was generally spelt.

Dowland was the actual originator of the lute-song (to take that form first), the first of his four volumes being published in the year 1597. Its structure was primarily melodic, often treating of several stanzas of verse to repeated melody, after the ordinary manner of song-form, while an instrumental accompaniment for the lute constituted an essential feature of the composition. It was thus available for use as an ordinary solo song, and no doubt this was the style of song best known to Shakespeare. But the lutanist composers very commonly, though not invariably, arranged these songs also for an alternative method of interpretation, namely for four combined voices, the three lower voices forming an accompaniment to the cantus, or chief melodic part, and thus allowing the lute-part to be dispensed with. It is in this latter form, and generally in this alone, that any of the works of the lutanists are now known among singers in this country; and so it comes about that the distinctions of style and structure between the madrigal and the lute-song, or 'ayre', are overlooked, and that such works as Thomas Ford's *Since first I saw your face* and Dowland's *Awake, sweet love*, are, as a rule, somewhat loosely described on concert programmes as madrigals.

I now come to the madrigal itself. Unlike the lute-song, which was a native English product originating in the supreme genius of Dowland, the madrigal came to us from Italy. It was an elaborate form of composition which defies exact or concise definition. It was written in an ornate contrapuntal style, which

made the highest demands on the technical skill of a musician, as well as on his imagination, literary taste, and poetic feeling. The plan was to deal with the metrical structure of the words in short phrases, giving to each voice an equal share of melodic interest instead of confining it to the top voice; and the voices were made to enter consecutively, and seldom simultaneously, with some musical figure which they took up in imitation of one another. The whole composition was welded together with the keenest instinct for balance and proportion. An important feature of the madrigal was the varied resource with which these composers expressed the meaning of the words in terms of music. In this connexion it may be truly said that the English madrigalists were not only musicians but poets too, for, if we examine their work carefully, we find that they studied the words in such minute detail and with such imaginative insight that there came to their own eyes the identical vision that the poet himself had seen. They then set themselves to interpret the poet's vision, always beautifying and intensifying his meaning through the medium of their own musical inspiration. And as regards the subjects of the words which they set to music, it is a common error to suppose that the madrigal was limited to pastoral subjects, or that a spirit of gaiety was essential to it. All kinds of words, grave or gay, pastoral or otherwise, were equally acceptable; the madrigal was, as it were, the normal form of song for combined voices at this time, and the term was commonly employed generically, even if somewhat loosely, to describe collections or sets of such of their compositions as these musicians issued from time to time, and which frequently included subjects of very varied character and style without any sort of classification or differentiation in the title and description. Another widespread error is to suppose that a *fa la la* refrain is a distinctive feature of a madrigal; this error may be due to the fact that out of that insignificant number of madrigals which the English choral singers have troubled to bring back to light during the past 250 years or so, a very large proportion has a *fa la la* refrain; and certainly it is these that have secured a larger measure of popularity than the rest. The *fa la la* is, indeed, the distinctive feature of that kind of madrigal known both in Italy and England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century as the Ballet. The *ballata*, as a form of *cantilena*, existed in Italy as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and corresponded to the *chanson balladé* of the same period in France. It was originally a dance-form accompanied with singing, and was, in consequence, more regular in rhythmic outline than the ordinary madrigal; but just as the minuet of Haydn and Mozart had by their time shaken itself free from the dancing element, and had become

exclusively instrumental while retaining much of the original character of the dance, so it was nearly two centuries earlier with the ballets of Morley, Weelkes, Tomkins, and others; dancing no longer in their day formed a feature of the performance. Only two independent books of ballets, those of Morley and Weelkes, were actually produced in the whole series of madrigalian publications at the close of the Elizabethan era, if we exclude the somewhat feeble book of *Fa-las* by the younger Hilton which was published at so late a date as 1628.

Nor, again, do any considerable number of madrigals end with the refrain:

Then sang the Nymphs and Shepherds of Diana:
Long live fair Oriana.

This is another popular error, and it is traceable to the same cause; for in the absence of any complete edition of the works of the English madrigalists the entire sense of proportion in this matter has been obscured. The fact that about thirty madrigals do end with this refrain has been brought into prominence by two complete reprints, one early and one late in the nineteenth century, of the whole of the famous and very popular set known as *The Triumphs of Oriana*. This collection was originally published in 1601, and consisted of madrigals by various composers in praise of Queen Elizabeth, each madrigal in the set ending with the same refrain. Meanwhile, as the rest have been left almost entirely in neglect and obscurity, it is not fully realized that the Oriana madrigals represent no more than about 3 per cent. of the whole output of the English madrigal school.

The origin of the term *madrigal* has been for centuries a subject of speculation. Thomas Morley himself, in his famous *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, published in 1597, confessed that he could offer no explanation of it, and various English writers, including Hawkins and Burney, and in more modern times Rimbault and Oliphant, failed to solve the problem of its etymology.

It is not too much to say that the problem has at last been solved, and the credit is due to Professor Biadene of Pisa University, who published a thoroughly convincing article on the subject in an Italian quarterly magazine some twenty years ago, which, however, seems to have been completely overlooked in this country. I have dealt with this matter in detail elsewhere and need only give here an outline of the theory.¹ All the standard dictionaries, among them the *della Crusca*, *Littre*, and our own *New English Dictionary*, although suggesting some uncertainty and obscurity, give *madrigal*, or *madrigale*, as being derived

¹ *The English Madrigal Composers*, by E. H. Fellowes. Clarendon Press.

through *madriale* and *mandriale*, from *mandra*, meaning a flock, and thus denoting a pastoral poem or song. Biadene points out that it is impossible on etymological grounds to derive *madrigale* from *madriale*, because the insertion of the *g* cannot be explained by any known rule and has no parallel in the Italian language; whereas the reverse process, which would change *madrigale* to *madriale*, has plenty of parallel examples in Italian, as, for instance, *legale*, *leale*; *regale*, *reale*. Nor can the elimination of the *n* in *mandra* and *mandriale*, to produce *madriale*, be explained on any sound principle of etymology. The true pedigree of the word is quite simple: the medieval Latin word *matriculinus* is to be found in the literature of the thirteenth century as denoting songs of a particular kind. Why this actual term was employed is not known, and any reason given for its use in this sense must be speculative; but the fact of its employment with this meaning cannot be disputed, and Biadene's own suggestion is that *carmen matricale* was used at an early period, in a similar manner to *lingua materna*, to mean the 'mother song', or the simple song of the people, in other words folk-song. When this species of rustic song developed into a kind of primitive art-form, the term *matricale* was retained to describe it. A perfectly simple and obvious step will change the Latin *matricale* into the Italian *madrigale*; and the variant *marigale*, which also appears in the early literature of northern Italy, is characteristic of the dialectical use in that part of the country, where the *d* (as in *madre* and *padre*) was commonly eliminated. The elimination of the *g*, as in *regale*, *reale*, brings us to the word *madriale*, which was in use in the fifteenth century as denoting the little pastoral poems in vogue at that time; and, as Professor Biadene further suggests, the word *mandriale* was probably a fancy-word deliberately coined by the *litterati* of the time, as combining the two words *madriale* and *mandra*, on the ground that the pastoral idea was common to both and that the words had such a similarity; but however that may be, the etymology of the variant *mandriale* does not affect that of the word *madrigale* with which we are primarily concerned. When the musical madrigal was revived on new and more elaborate lines as an art-form by Arcadelt, Verdelot, and other Flemish composers who settled in Italy in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the old term *madrigale* was revived by them; and there was a continuous flow of Italian publications bearing the title of *madrigali* from the date 1535 to the end of the century, by which time the English school was firmly established; and the English word *madrigal* has become recognized in the vocabulary of our language ever since.

The history of the madrigal is bound up with the history of

the word. The word, as we have seen, was probably first employed in connexion with the rustic songs of northern Italy, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it more exclusively denoted a definitely developed, if primitive, art-form. Early examples of such songs bearing the title of *madrigale* are printed in the first volume of the *Oxford History of Music*, the composers quoted by Mr. Wooldridge being Francesco di Landino, Maestro Piero and Zacharias. Landino, the blind organist of San Lorenzo in Florence, was far the most important of these early composers. The date of his birth was 1325. For nearly two centuries after this the musical madrigal fell into abeyance, and the word came to be used, with the variants *madriale* and *mandicale*, for the short lyrical poems of pastoral character, while the original word was subsequently revived early in the sixteenth century as a distinctly musical term.

It may now be of interest to say something as to the books in which the English madrigals are to be found. Fortunately the secular music of this period is free from much of the difficulty which hampers research in the subject of church music. For the anthems and services of the Tudor age have now to be collected for the most part from such single manuscript part-books of the early seventeenth century as have escaped, and I fear I must add, as are *still* liable to, ruthless destruction in the various cathedral establishments. The finest store of such manuscripts is at Durham Cathedral, but even there no single set of books is complete. The more common experience is, for instance, to find a single tenor-part of a work at one cathedral and the corresponding alto at another and the bass at another and so on, and the task of recovering some of the splendid church-music of famous composers like Orlando Gibbons and Byrd has in certain instances been carried out only after putting together fragments collected from five or six different sources, all of which were hopelessly incomplete in themselves. This laborious task is now being systematically undertaken by the editorial committee appointed by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. Very little of the English church music found its way into print in Elizabethan times, although some of the Anglo-Latin music was printed and is available in scarce sets of part-books in the British Museum and other libraries. But with the secular music of the same period the converse is the case. By far the greater part of it was printed in single part-books, and it is a remarkable and fortunate circumstance that, in spite of the scarceness of many of these individual books, complete sets of the works of all the madrigal composers, as well as those of the lutanists, have survived in one library or another. Almost the only set that was known to have been printed at this period

that cannot be traced is that of Nathaniel Patrick, organist of Worcester Cathedral *circa* 1595; while the set of Michael Cavendish, no copy of which had been known to be in existence, made a sensational appearance two years ago at Messrs. Puttick and Simpson's sale-room and was fortunately acquired for the British Museum. The works of the madrigalists and lutanists together amount to some seventy or eighty sets, each containing on an average about twenty-five compositions; by far the finest collection of these is in the British Museum, while almost all that is missing there can be supplied jointly by the Bodleian Library and that of the Royal College of Music; two unique copies of lutanists' 'ayres' are in private hands in America, and one set of madrigals, that of Robert Jones, exists in complete form only in the Royal library at Brussels.

The madrigal sets were printed in quarto volumes, each voice-part being in a separate book, and the music appears without any bar-lines such as are always found in music of a later date.

It is my purpose to avoid purely technical details as far as possible, but it is necessary to say a few words on the subject of rhythm in Tudor music, because the proper rhythmic interpretation of this music is of the utmost importance if it is to be understood and enjoyed; and it is because the tradition in this detail was lost in the seventeenth century, when this type of music fell into almost complete disuse, that its beauty and meaning have been so hopelessly impaired. Only now is the true tradition being recovered. It is an error to suppose that the Tudors used no barring at all, even though it was of a different character from that which is used in modern music; the manuscript organ-books of their day reveal clearly the kind of system upon which the composers inserted bar-lines, and there can be little doubt that the barring found in the *pars organica* of the church music was identical with what the composer put into the voice-parts in his full score. Scarcely any full vocal scores, either of the sacred or secular music of the time, have survived; a set of eleven anthems of Orlando Gibbons, in his own autograph, at Christ Church, Oxford, is one of the very rare exceptions; and the barring of that manuscript is most instructive. There were no such things as concerts or conductors in the sixteenth century, performances of music were of a purely informal and homely character, consequently there was no use for the full vocal score except for the purpose of making the single part-books for the actual use of the singers: the composer of church music, no doubt, sent his score, including a *pars organica*, round the cathedrals, where the parts were copied separately into the choir books, and then the score was put aside or destroyed; similarly with the madrigals, when the

printer had done his work in setting up the single part-books there was no further use for the composer's manuscript score, and it perished. And with it perished the barring, which was never transcribed into the single part-books and which had been inserted in the score by the composer solely with the object of guiding his own eye. But it must be explained that barring had not then the same purpose and meaning which it acquired towards the end of the seventeenth century. In contrast with the periodic bar of later times it was irregular, occurring about eight minims apart in common time, varied by lengths of four, six, ten, and sometimes even twelve or more minims; in triple time it was usually at least six minims apart; and it was never in any sense intended to control the rhythmic outline or accentuation of the music. Barring of some sort was obviously necessary in the process of composition to enable the eye to read a full vocal score, and the reason of its irregular or non-periodic character was that it might interfere as little as possible with the rhythm of the individual parts. Consequently the business of madrigal-singers to-day is to see that no barring, inserted as it must be in modern reprints, interferes with the proper rhythmic interpretation, which is to be controlled solely and entirely by the rhythm and natural accent of the words as they would be pronounced if well spoken. It was for this reason that both in the manuscript and printed part-books of Tudor days even the irregular barring was entirely eliminated, for the singers were thus left quite free to observe and to interpret the natural and very free, and sometimes highly complex, rhythms of the music. When this is properly understood by modern singers all the mistaken ideas as to false accent, such as those enlarged upon by Dr. Burney in the eighteenth century, and by Thomas Oliphant in the nineteenth, are swept away; and the music, antiquarian though it be in one sense, speaks with a freshness, a beauty, and a vitality which place it in the very foremost position of any music for combined voices even in this twentieth century.

I do not propose to give individual details concerning all the English madrigalists, but will confine what I have to say to a few leading names. One of the most astonishing features of this school of composers is the very short period in which it flourished. It is curious in the first place that madrigal composition of the highest class was so long delayed in England; for, whereas it had flourished fifty years in Italy and Flanders, it was not until the year that saw the defeat of the Spanish Armada that the first real set of works of this character was published; and with one or two exceptions of a comparatively unimportant character the whole wave had spent its force in

thirty years from that date, the great bulk of the output having been produced within the narrow limits of twenty years. The work of the lutanists in this respect is even more extraordinary, for almost the whole output was published between the years 1597 and 1612.

It must not be supposed that no secular music for combined voices was written in this country before 1588, but admittedly it was unimportant in character; and although much of it is of considerable beauty, almost all of it is nevertheless distinctly archaic in its effect upon modern ears, and, unlike the English madrigals produced in the year 1588 and subsequently, it cannot hold its place in a modern concert-room without some form of *apologia*. Richard Edwards's beautiful *In going to my naked bed*, dating as early as about 1560 and perhaps a little earlier, may be quoted in dispute of this statement, but the text of the original MS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 30513, fo. 79 b) leaves some room for doubt as to whether it was intended for combined voices at all, and the available modern editions of this work are no more than speculative reconstructions of the music.

William Byrd, in the opinion of many competent judges the greatest English composer of all time, not excepting even Henry Purcell, was, in a sense, the founder of the English Madrigal School; for although he did not actually employ the term madrigal on his title-pages, the secular works contained in his publications of 1588 and 1589 are purely madrigalian in character. It is sometimes said that Byrd did not excel when writing in a merry mood, but such a statement is irrefutably disproved by a mere glance at such madrigals as *While that the sun with his beams hot*; *Come, jolly swains*; and several more. Yet Byrd, like Orlando Gibbons, his younger contemporary, was a man of stern temperament and was no doubt at his best with a severer subject; a very fine example of a grave madrigal of his is *Come, woeful Orpheus*. A third publication followed these two in 1611, and the three books together comprise some seventy or eighty works of the madrigalian class, besides about forty anthems or motetts to English words. At the time when Grove's *Dictionary of Music* was first published, in 1879, little was known of the life of William Byrd: we owe it to the researches of a Fellow of the Society, Mr. W. Barclay Squire, that we have now very full biographical details concerning him.

Thomas Morley was the first English composer to follow Byrd's lead. He did more than any one else to encourage the composition of madrigals. He himself was a prolific composer; between the years 1593 and 1601 he published five sets of original Canzonets, Madrigals, and Ballets, besides collecting and producing two sets of Italian madrigals adapted to English

words, and the famous collection known as *The Triumphs of Oriana*, to which I have already alluded. In addition to these Morley issued a book of lute-songs which included his well-known setting of Shakespeare's *It was a lover and his lass*, besides his famous *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* and *A booke of Consort lessons*—altogether an immense output in eight years. Morley, like Byrd, was a Londoner. For a time he was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral and subsequently of the Chapel Royal. He lived in the parish of Great St. Helen's, but his place of burial remains unknown. He died in 1602. In contrast to Byrd, Morley excelled especially in the lighter vein; he was at his best in depicting the village scenes; *Ho! who comes here?* gives a magnificent picture of the morris dancers. *Arise, get up, my dear*, is another excellent example of this style. Morley was the first Englishman to introduce the sung ballet into England. He closely followed the model of Gastoldi.

John Wilbye is by general consent regarded as the greatest of the English madrigalists. His two sets, comprising altogether sixty-four madrigals, were published in 1598 and 1609 respectively. Wilbye's madrigals deal with varied subjects, and show great originality and power of expression; he was above all a supreme stylist. *Sweet honey-sucking bees* and *Flora gave me fairest flowers* have deservedly enjoyed great popularity, but apart from these hardly more than four or five of Wilbye's madrigals are known at all, a fact that does little credit to English musicians. *Oft have I vowed* and *Happy, O happy he!* are two masterpieces. As to Wilbye's personal history nothing whatever was known until recently, when I had the good fortune to trace out most of the details of his life; and for these I would refer you to a paper read before the Musical Association in February 1915.

Three other composers are represented by the illustrations this evening: Thomas Weelkes was organist of Winchester College and subsequently of Chichester Cathedral. His bones lie buried in the Church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, in which parish he died November 30th, 1623. His published sets contain altogether ninety-four compositions, and among these, *O Care, thou wilt despatch me* is perhaps the most original and interesting madrigal in existence. Orlando Gibbons stands with Byrd and Purcell on the highest pinnacles of English music; he has left but one book of madrigals, almost all of which are very severe in character; he was much younger than the four great madrigalists whose work I have just mentioned, and no doubt profited largely by the experience which they, as the pioneers of the English Madrigal School, had gained; yet even

so his originality and great dignity of style and expression entitle him to a place in the first rank of madrigalists. In suggesting distinctions of this nature no disparagement of other fine composers of this school must be implied. Thomas Bateson, organist of Chester Cathedral and subsequently of Christ Church, Dublin; Thomas Tomkins, of Worcester Cathedral; John Ward, George Kirbye, John Bennet, Giles Farnaby—and indeed many more—have, in virtue of their madrigals alone, quite apart from their other work, left behind them names which can never perish.

In illustration of the paper the English Singers gave the following selection of madrigals:

- Madrigal of Six Parts . 'Draw on, sweet night' *John Wilbye*
(from his 2nd set of Madrigals, 1609).
 Madrigal of Three Parts . 'The Nightingale' *Thomas Bateson*
(from his 1st set of Madrigals, 1604).
 Madrigal of Five Parts . 'Dainty fine bird' *Orlando Gibbons*
(from his 1st set of Madrigals, 1612).
 Madrigal of Six Parts . 'Stay, Corydon' *John Wilbye*
(from his 2nd set of Madrigals, 1609).
 Madrigal of Six Parts . 'Cupid and Cytherea' *Thomas Bateson*
(from his 2nd set of Madrigals, 1618).
 Canzonet of Three Parts . 'Arise, get up' *Thomas Morley*
(from his Canzonet to 3 voices, 1593).
 Ballet of Five Parts . 'On the plains' *Thomas Weelkes*
(from his Ballets and Madrigals, 1598).
 Canzonet of Three Parts 'Good morrow, fair Ladies' *Thomas Morley*
(from his Canzonets to 3 voices, 1593).
 Madrigal of Six Parts 'My Phyllis bids me pack away' *Thomas Weelkes*
(from his 1st set of Madrigals, 1597).

A short discussion followed in which Sir FREDERICK BRIDGE and Mr. DALE took part, and the PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Society to Dr. Fellowes for his paper and to the singers for their beautiful rendering of the musical programme.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 24th JUNE 1920.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

The Rev. Anchitel Harry Fletcher Boughey, M.A., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was given that the ordinary meeting on Thursday,

9th December, would be made special at 8.45 p.m. to consider a draft of alterations in, and additions to, the Statutes, proposed by the Council on 26th May.

Professor F. P. BARNARD, F.S.A., exhibited a photograph of the head of a military effigy in the Peterborough Museum, on which he communicated the following note:



HEAD OF MILITARY EFFIGY: PETERBOROUGH MUSEUM.

The head has a threefold protection: (1) a quilted defence next the skull; (2) above this the usual mail coif; and (3) over all what appears to be a leather cap, in that case probably of *cuir bouilli*. The quilted defence is stitched down in vertical lines, as are so many examples of the gambeson, but, so far as my observation has gone, this is a unique instance of that pattern

being adopted for a cap, though padded head-protection of other forms is common enough.

The date of the effigy (now lost) to which the head belonged is difficult to determine with absolute accuracy because it is not known whether the mail coif was continuous with, or separate from, the hauberk. The latter improvement appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century. On the whole, however, that is the period to which the head seems to belong.

G. O. CHURCHILL, Esq., exhibited a bowl of Rhages ware.

Professor T. ZAMMIT, C.M.G., communicated a third and last Report on the excavations at Hal Tarxien, Malta, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Lt.-Col. W. Hawley, F.S.A., read a Report on the excavations at Stonehenge, which will be printed in the *Journal*.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

The ordinary meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday, 25th November.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1919, TO JUNE 30, 1920.

The following list of accessions is arranged under subjects. A topographical list of those books which can be so catalogued is added.

The name of the donor is added in square brackets.

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- Bell, E. Hellenic architecture. [Author.]
 Bilson, J. Beverley Minster: some stray notes. [Author.]
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 Halifax Antiquarian Society: Architecture of the church of St. John the Baptist, Halifax.
 Hope, Sir W. St. J. Cowdray and Easebourne priory. [Publishers.]
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 ——— A brief description of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.
 Landrieux, M. The cathedral of Reims. [H. Sands, F.S.A.]
 Marshall, G. The roof of the Vicars' cloister at Hereford. [Author.]
 ——— Remarks on a Norman tympanum at Fownhope, and others in Herefordshire. [Author.]
 Morgan, I., and G. The stones and story of Jesus Chapel, Cambridge. [W. P. Brewis, F.S.A.]
 Ravenscroft, W. Further notes on the Comacine masters. [Author.]
 Rivoira, G. T. Moslem architecture. [G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A.]
 Rye, W. Norwich houses before 1600.
 ——— [Norfolk] castles and manor houses from the Conquest to the present time.
 Surtees, Brig.-Gen. C. The history of the church of St. Brandon at Brancepeth, Durham. [Author.]
 Thompson, A. H. The building accounts of Kirby Muxloe castle. [Author.]

ARMOUR.

- Coutil, L. Casque étrusque ou ionien . . . de Filotrano. [Author.]
 ——— Le casque d'or . . . d'Amfreville-sous-les-Monts. [Author.]
 ——— Les casques proto-étrusques, étrusques et gaulois. [Author.]
 ——— Casques antiques proto-étrusques, hallstadiens, etc. [Author.]
 ——— Armes et parures scandinaves trouvées à Rouen, etc. [Author.]

ART.

- Beazley, J. D. The Lewes House collection of ancient gems. [E. P. Warren.]
 Doorslaer, G. van. L'enseignement de l'Exposition d'art ancien de Malines en 1911. [Author.]
 Radford, A. L. Portraits of the Sainthill family formerly in Bradninch manor house. [Author.]

BELLS.

Walters, H. B. The Gloucestershire bell foundries : ii. The Bristol foundry. [Author.]

BIOGRAPHY.

Andrews, H. C. John, King of France, a prisoner in Hertford castle. [Author.]

Clay, J. W., and Lister, J. Autobiography of Sir John Savile of Methley. [C. T. Clay, F.S.A.]

Craster, H. H. E. Francis Haverfield. [Author.]

Fuller, J. F. Omiana ; the autobiography of an Irish octogenarian. [Author.]

Morris, D. B. The Stirling merchant gild and Life of John Cowane.

Mowat, R. B. Henry V.

Vickers, K. H. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. [W. J. Hemp, F.S.A.]

CASTLES, EARTHWORKS, ETC.

Coutil, L. Le château Gaillard. [Author.]

Grazebrook, G. A short history of Stourton castle. [R. M. Grazebrook.]

Hope, Sir W. St. J. The Royal Guide to Windsor Castle. [Lady Hope.]

Rye, W. [Norfolk] Castles . . . from the Conquest to the present time.

——— Roman camps . . . in Norfolk.

——— Mote hills in Norfolk.

Sheppard, T. Dane's Dyke. [Author.]

Thompson, A. H. The building accounts of Kirby Muxloe castle. [Author.]

CERAMICS.

Herford, M. A. B. A handbook of Greek vase painting.

Rhead, C. W. The earthenware collector. [H. W. Lewer, F.S.A.]

Sumner, H. A descriptive account of the Roman pottery made at Ashley Rails, New Forest. [Author.]

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Farquhar, H. Royal charities : ii. Touch-pieces for the King's Evil. [Author.]

Hill, G. F. Medals of the Renaissance.

Macdonald, G. The silver coinage of Crete.

Rosenheim, M., and Hill, G. F. A medal of Lorenz Staiher. [G. F. Hill.]

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Morris, D. B. The Stirling Merchant Gild.

Westlake, H. F. The parish gilds of medieval England. [Author.]

CROSSES.

Reeves, W. P. The date of the Bewcastle cross. [Author.]

Vallance, A. Old crosses and lych-gates. [Author.]

ECCLESIOLOGY.

- Graham, R. [Oxfordshire] Chantry certificates and Edwardian inventories of church goods; Oxfordshire Record Soc.
 Hope, Sir W. St. J., and Atchley, C. An Inventory of Pleshy College, 1527. [Lady Hope.]
 Hope, Sir W. St. J. Inventories of the College of Stoke-by-Clare. [Lady Hope.]
 Thompson, A. H. Notes on the ecclesiastical history of the parish of Henbury. [Author.]
 ——— The history of the Hospital and the New College . . . in the Newarke, Leicester. [Author.]

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- Le Couteur, J. D. Ancient glass in Winchester. [Author.]
 Rushforth, G. McN. The stained glass of Great Malvern Priory church.

HAGIOLOGY.

- Coutil, L. Le culte de sainte Clotilde aux Andelys. [Author.]

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- Marquand, A. Robbia heraldry.
 Rye, W. List of coat armour used in Norfolk before 1563.
 ——— The false pedigree and arms of the family of Bacon of Suffolk. [Sir H. Bacon.]

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- Levis, H. C. The British King who tried to fly (Bladud). [Author.]
 Maitland, F. W. Township and Borough.
 Mowat, R. B. Henry V.
 Seton, W. W. The relation of Henry Cardinal York with the British Government. [Author.]
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 [Overbury, Sir T. ?] The narrative history of King James for the past fourteen years: 1651. [C. E. Allan, F.S.A.]

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 ——— Un témoin du siège de Louviers. [Author.]

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- Hall, H. R. Ancient history of the Near East.

— (SPAIN).

- Junta de estudios, Madrid. La política española en Italia.
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 ——— La Liga de Lepanto.
 ——— Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla.

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- Cunningham, W. The growth of English Industry and Commerce.
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 Morris, D. B. The Stirling Merchant Gild.
 Trotter, E. Seventeenth century life in a country parish.
 Westlake, H. F. The parish gilds of medieval England. [Author.]

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- Clay, J. W. The Sterne Family. [C. T. Clay, F.S.A.]
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- Ballard, A. An eleventh century inquisition of St. Augustine's,
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 Latimer, J. The Annals of Bristol, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nine-
 teenth century. [J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A.]
 Neilson, N. A terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire. [H. Sands, F.S.A.]
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 Slater, F. G. A Cheshire parish, being a short history of Ince.
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 Wellstood, F. C. Records of the manor of Henley-in-Arden.
 [Author.]

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Jeffery, G. A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus. [Government of Cyprus.]

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Rye, W. Early recumbent effigies in Norfolk . . . before 1500.

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Acland, J. E. Durnovaria and Maiden castle : . . . prehistoric sites near Dorchester.

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Casques antiques . . . hallstations, etc. [Author.]

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Moir, J. R. Pre-palaeolithic man.

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Sumner, H. A descriptive account of the Roman pottery made at Ashley Rails, New Forest. [Author.]

See also : Topographical List, France under Coutil.

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- Bolton, A. T. English eighteenth-century sculptures in Sir John Soane's Museum. [Author.]
 Coutil, L. Bustes et statuettes de forme archaïque en granit et lave d'Auvergne. [Author.]
 ——— Les figurines en terre cuite des Eburovices, Vellocasses et Lexovii. [Author.]
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- Dobbie, Sir J. J., and Fox, J. The composition of some medieval wax seals. [Authors.]
 Poole, R. L. Seals and Documents.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

- Airy, W. On the Arabic glass weights. [Author.]

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- Crossley, F. H. On the remains of medieval stall work in Lancashire. [Author.]
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- Macdonald, G. The silver coinage of Crete.
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- Andrews, H. C. John, King of France: a prisoner in Hertford Castle.
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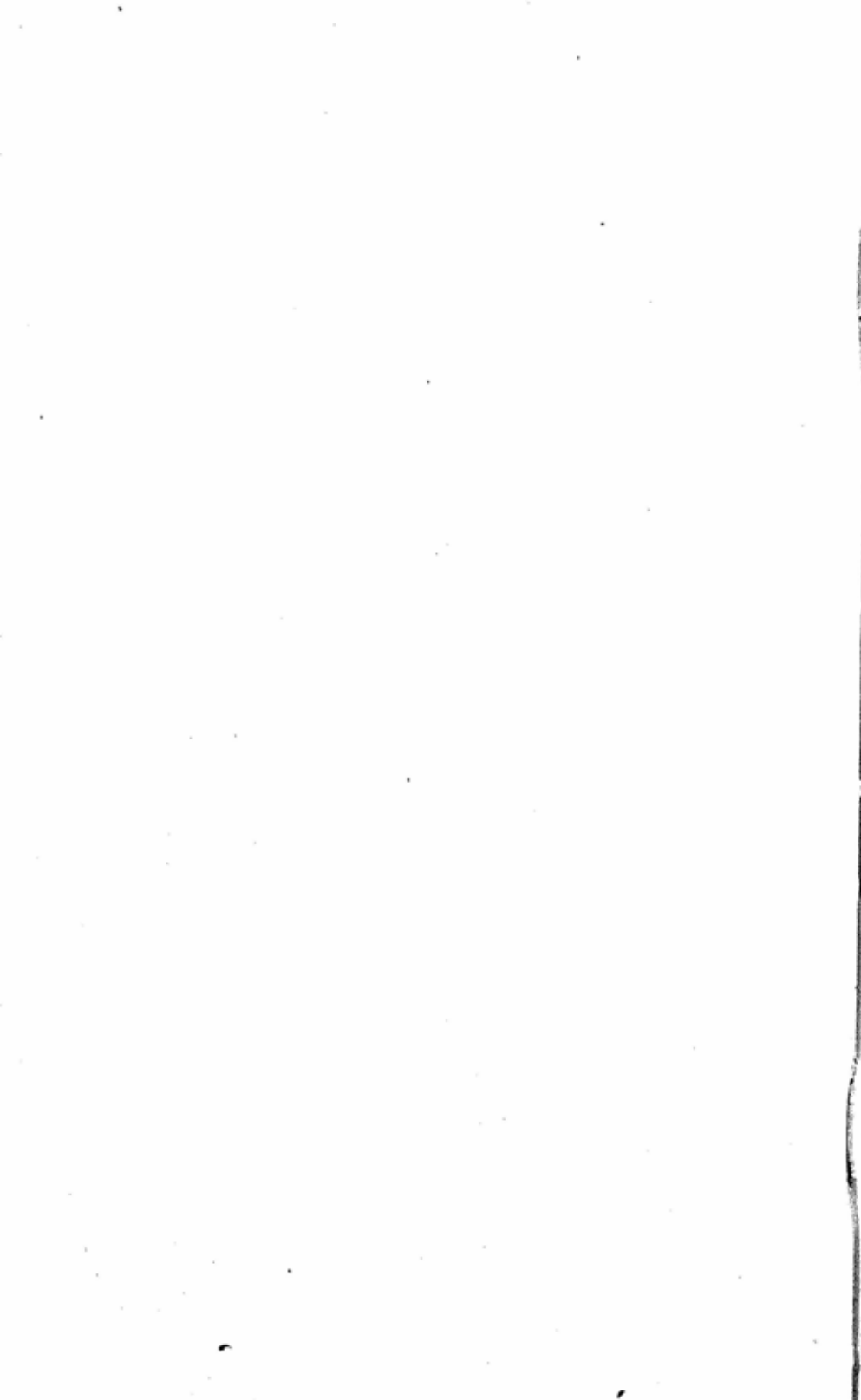
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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF LONDON

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR 1919

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

INCOME.								
						£	s.	d.
Subscriptions						1909	14	0
„ due						33	12	0
Admission fees						210	0	0
Less $\frac{1}{2}$ to Research Fund						42	0	0
Interest on Investments						827	17	4
Income-tax recovered						208	6	11
Court of Chancery						108	10	11
Publications sold								
Interest on Deposit Account								
Sale of old plates and waste paper								
Sundry receipts								

1943 6 0

168 0 0

1139 15 2

30 8 8

34 1 4

70 19 1

25 19 6

£3412 4 9

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1919.

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Publications				118	17	4
Library :						
Books	106	10	6			
Binding	126	7	3			
Subject Catalogue	58	8	0			
				286	5	9
Subscriptions to Societies				54	5	0
Salaries, Wages, and Pension :						
Secretary	50	0	0			
" Assistant	378	6	0			
Clerk and Librarian	350	0	0			
Porter and allowances	193	18	6			
Wages	235	10	0			
Pension, Sir W. Hope	163	3	10			
Income-tax on Salaries and Insurance	47	10	0			
				1418	8	4
House Maintenance :						
Light	75	7	7			
Fuel	85	0	2			
Cleaning	46	16	8			
House necessities	28	9	6			
Insurance and Licences	28	0	0			
Clock winding	5	2	0			
Tea at Meetings	12	4	1			
				281	0	0
Official Expenditure :						
Printing	77	15	7			
Postage	45	11	9			
Stationery	18	2	0			
Telephone	8	0	0			
				149	9	4
Sundries :						
Copying Minute Books	60	7	3			
Legacy duty and costs	15	2	6			
Book-shelves	39	4	1			
Sundries	54	13	3			
				169	7	1
Repair Fund				150	0	0
Balance available for Archaeologia and Proceedings, 1919				784	11	11
				£3412	4	9

BALANCE SHEET.

		LIABILITIES.				£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Sundry Creditors	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	229	0 4
Repair Account :									
31st December, 1918	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	450	15 0
Less sundry repairs during 1919	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	72	14 5
								378	0 7
Appropriation from Income and Expenditure Account	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	150	0 0
								528	0 7
Research Fund :									
Capital Account	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3271	13 7
Income	„	.	.	.	.	.	.	228	7 2
								3500	0 9
Owen Fund :									
Capital Account	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	233	0 0
Income	„	.	.	.	.	.	.	42	5 10
								275	5 10
Publications Suspense Account :									
Balance, 31st December, 1918	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	600	0 0
Interest on Investment	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15	0 0
								615	0 0
Available for Archaeologia, 1918	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	615	0 0
Balance of Income and Expenditure Account available for Publications, 1919	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	784	11 11
								1399	11 11
Balance, 31st December, 1918	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	31839	6 1
Less written off book value of	£	s.	d.						
Investments	.	.	.	13667	0	6			
Underestimate printing	.	.	.	67	2	1			
Subscription, &c., outstanding, now written off	.	.	.	7	13	0			
Loss on Sale, Midland Railway Stock	.	.	.	2	4				
				13741	17	11			
				18097	8	2			

£24029 7 7

We have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers and certify them to be correct. We have satisfied ourselves as to the existence of the Securities belonging to the Society. The value of the Library, Antiquities, Furniture, and Pictures of the Society is not taken credit for in the Books or the Balance Sheet.

FRANCIS W. PIXLEY. PERCIVAL D. GRIFFITHS.
RALPH GRIFFIN. W. PALEY BAILDON.

March 23rd, 1920.

31st DECEMBER, 1919.

			ASSETS.					
£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
			INVESTMENTS.—GENERAL FUND.					
10538	19	7	Metropolitan Consolidated 3 per cent.			6778	15	0
1010	1	0	Metropolitan Water Board 'B'					
			3 per cent.			560	11	6
1445	6	5	War Loan 5 per cent. 1929-47			1322	9	4
350	0	0	National War Bonds 5 per cent. 1927			343	0	0
						8999 15 10		
			INVESTMENTS.—STEVENSON BEQUEST.					
2128	9	6	Bank of England Stock			4118	12	0
2725	0	0	Great Northern Railway 4 per cent.					
			Perpetual Preference			1771	5	0
2757	0	0	London and North Western Railway					
			4 per cent. Guaranteed			1929	18	0
2761	0	0	North Eastern Railway 4 per cent.					
			Guaranteed			1905	1	9
592	0	0	Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Per-					
			petual Guaranteed Preference			254	11	2
						9979 7 11		
			INVESTMENTS.—RESEARCH FUND.					
1805	13	4	India 3½ per cent. Stock			1110	9	9
500	0	0	J. Dickinson & Co., 5 per cent. Pre-					
			ference			370	0	0
527	13	0	Victoria 3 per cent. Consolidated					
			Inscribed			313	19	0
966	4	2	Metropolitan Water Board 'B' 3 per					
			cent.			536	4	10
600	0	0	War Loan 5 per cent. 1929-47			549	0	0
400	0	0	National War Bonds 5 per cent.			392	0	0
						3271 13 7		
			INVESTMENTS.—OWEN FUND.					
254	13	7	War Loan 5 per cent. 1929-47			233	0	0
			INVESTMENTS.—PUBLICATIONS SUSPENSE ACCOUNT.					
600	0	0	National War Bonds 5 per cent. 1929			588	0	0
			Sundry Debtors			33 12 0		
			Cash at Bank and in hand, viz:					
			Deposit Account			600	0	0
			General Account			18	5	3
			Research Fund Account			228	7	2
			Owen Account			42	5	10
			Publications Suspense Account			15	0	0
			In hand			25	0	0
						923 18 3		
						<u>£24029 7 7</u>		

NOTE.—All the investments are valued at middle market prices of 31st December, 1919.

RESEARCH FUND. SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1918.	152	15	8
Dividends	167	2	2
Income-tax refunded	11	18	8
Subscriptions	47	17	0
General Fund, one-fifth part of Admission Fees	42	0	0
Silchester Excavation Fund, balance	11	13	8
	<u>£433</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>

EXPENSES.

	£	s.	d.
National War Bonds, 1928	200	0	0
Grant to Ilkley Excavations	5	0	0
Balance, 31st December, 1919	228	7	2
	<u>£433</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>

Amount of
Stock.

Note.
In the High Court of Justice, Chancery
Division.

In the suit of Thornton v. Stevenson.

The Stocks remaining in Court to the credit of
this cause are as follows, viz.:

Great Western Railway 5 per cent. Guaranteed	8894	0	0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Perpetual Preference	14889	8	5
	<u>£23783</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>

After paying of certain annuities, now amounting to £200 per annum, the Society is entitled to one-fourth share of the residue of the income of the above fund.

WILLIAM MINET,
Treas. S. A.

NOTE ON THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1919

By the advice of the Auditors, and with the full concurrence of the Treasurer, an important change has been made in the Balance Sheet for 1919, for there have been brought into it for the first time the Owen and Research Funds. Hitherto treated as subsidiary accounts, these form, however, as much an integral part of the Society's assets as does the General Fund; they find, therefore, as of right, their place in the general statement of its accounts.

It being impossible now to ascertain at what value they came into our accounts—indeed, some of them were gifts—the only plan to adopt was to enter them under the assets at their value on 31st December, 1919; and as liabilities they must of course appear at the same values.

Considering this, and with a desire to achieve uniformity, the values of the investments representing the General Fund and Stevenson Bequest have been treated in like manner. These, which stood some at cost, some at a value arrived at in 1899, when the accounts were first systematized, have now all been written down to their value on 31st December, 1919. In doing this, we are following a course which has more than once been recommended by some of our Fellows. Present as compared with pre-war values involve a very considerable depreciation, no less in this case than £13,667 0s. 6d. This, of course, has to be taken from the surplus of assets over liabilities brought forward from 1918, which will now stand at £18,097 8s. 2d. Alarming as this may appear, it, of course, in no way affects the financial stability of the Society, nor does it touch its income. All our investments will, therefore, in future have the same book value, namely, that of 31st December, 1919; and that come what may in markets.

This has been the first year in which our Income and Expenditure account has been seriously touched, and this from two causes: our staff returned to claim full salaries, and the rise in prices became acute in 1919 and has affected every branch of our work. Before we can pay for any publications we have to meet what may be called establishment charges, and these in 1919 rose £556 above 1918. This left only £903 available for publications in 1919 (of which £118 was spent and £784 is the

balance available when publications shall catch up to this year), whereas the average spent on publications in the preceding six years has been £1,135. Now £903 will not even meet £1,135, and £1,135 moreover is the old price for printing, which would be represented by a far higher figure to-day.

This is the problem facing us. It is now in the hands of a special committee, to whose wisdom its solution must be left.

WILLIAM MINET,

Treasurer.

INDEX

TO

PROCEEDINGS, SECOND SERIES, VOL. XXXII

- Abercromby, Lord, on objects of the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, 7, 18.
- Aberdeenshire, Stone Circles of, 225-7.
- Abu Shahrein, Tell (ancient Eridu), Mesopotamia, excavations at, 22, 25-9; finds, 28, 33, 43, 84; houses, 28, 34, 35; sketch-plan of the south-east region, 34; stone bas-reliefs, 28, 34, 35.
- Acklam Wold (Yorks.), ancient burial at, with associated grave furniture, 11.
- Acland, H. D., remarks by, 100.
- Adoration of the Three Kings, alabaster tables of, 124, 128-9.
- Alabaster Exhibition catalogue, 118, 119, 120, 124, 129.
- Alabaster tables, English, 117-29; alabaster carvings, of English origin, in Spain, 124-9; fragments of English alabaster tables from the church of St. Andrew, Wootton (Lines.), exhibited, 124. Tables of: Adoration of the Three Kings, 124, 128-9; Annunciation, the, 124; Ascension, the, 124; Assumption, the, 118, 119; Barbara, St., 121-4; Betrayal, the, 119-21; Clement, St., 124, 125; Coronation of the Virgin Mary, 128; Crucifixion, the, 129; Resurrection of the Dead, 121, 122; Te Deum group, 118, 119; Trinity, the, 124; Virgin Mary, scenes from the life of, 124.
- Algar, prior of Durham, 144, 145.
- Ali Bey Bahgat, 102, 103, 107.
- Alleyn, Edward, documents at Dulwich College and the Record Office relating to, 142.
- Amber stud, from Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11.
- Ancient Monuments Act, 224, 225.
- Anglo-Saxon: antiquities found in cemetery at Mitcham (Surrey), 201-2; ivory carving, found near St. Cross (Hants), 45-7; rings, 113.
- Animal motives in early decorative art, 55-8, 61.
- Animal remains: Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25.
- Annunciation, the, fragments of alabaster table of, 124.
- Antiquaries, Society of: accessions to the Library 1919-20, 241-53; accounts for 1919, 144, 169, 255-62; anniversary meeting, 159-85; appointment of auditors, 68; effect of rising prices on finances, 108; election of officers and Council, 169-70; Fellows elected during the year, 161; losses by death, 160-1; losses by resignation, 162; Presidential address, 170-85; Report of the Council for 1919-20, 159-69; women become eligible as candidates for election, 97.
- Arbor Low (Derby), flint dagger from, 15, 16.
- Archaeological research, duty and difficulties of, 173-83.
- Armlets, bronze: Bredsgård (Jutland), 99, 100; Stoke Prior (Worc.), 99.
- Arms and armour: see Arrow-heads, Arrows, Axe-hammer, Axes, Bows, Daggers, Flint daggers, Flint implements, Hammer-head, Knives, Lance-head, Lances, Neolithic, and Palaeolithic implements, Palstaves, Spear-heads, Swords.
- Arras (France), plan of, 193, 198.
- Arrow-heads: Bronze, Cnossos, 154-6; Crete, 154-7; Cyprus, 148, 150; Egypt, 152, 154, 155; Greece, 147,

- 153-7; Marathon, 146, 147, 152-7; Olympia, 154, 156. Flint, Green Low (Derby), 11, 12; Monkton Farleigh (Wilts.), 90; Three Lows, near Wotton (Stafford), 18; Woodcote Park, Epsom (Surrey), 90, 91. Iron, China, 150, 151, 158; Egypt, 149, 150, 154, 156; Hierapolis (Phrygia), 148, 149; Japan, 150, 151, 158; Jerusalem, 149; Lycia, 148, 149, 152; Marathon, 146-52; Menidi (Attica), 148; Siberia, 150, 151.
- Arrows: Cretan, 155-7; from Marathon, 150, 152, 156; armed with hollow bones, from New Guinea, 154.
- Artois (France), ancient remains in, 199.
- Ascension, the, alabaster table of, * 124
- Ashmore Down (Wilts.), eolithic stone from, exhibited, 85.
- Assumption, the, alabaster table of, 118, 119.
- Assur (Mesopotamia), prehistoric Sumerian remains at, 83, 84.
- Astrabad (Persian Turkestan), archaeological discoveries at, 83, 84.
- Atkins, Sir William Ryland Dent, admitted, 85.
- Atreates, the, 192, 193, 198, 199, 200.
- Audley End (Essex), Lord Braybrooke's museum at: flint dagger and beakers, 15.
- Aughorthies (Aberdeen), stone circle at, 225.
- Axe-hammer, quartzite, from Herdsman's Hill (Northants), 14.
- Axes: Neolithic, Newbury (Berks.), 89, 90. Palaeolithic, Brimpton (Berks.), 87, 88; found near Moyles Court (Hants), exhibited, 86, 87, 95.
- Babylon, site of, 22.
- Babylonia, ancient sites of, 22, 23, 25, 28.
- Baildon, William Paley, appointed auditor of accounts, 68; exhibits and presents a bronze portrait medal of the late Charles Roach Smith, 141; remarks by, 77, 116, 143.
- Balance-sheet and note on the accounts for 1919, 255-62.
- Balsham (Cambs.), flint dagger and beakers from, 15.
- Barbara, St., alabaster image of, 121-4.
- Barcelona (Spain), Municipal Museum of Fine Arts: fragment of an English alabaster panel, 128.
- Barnard, Professor F. P., on the head of a military effigy in the Peterborough Museum, 239-40.
- Basin, copper, part of, found at Christchurch (Hants), 93.
- Bateman, Thomas, excavations by, 12, 13.
- Bateson, Thomas, madrigals of, 238.
- Bath (Som.), plan of Romano-British town, 193, 195.
- Beads: agate and cornelian, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; jet, Nether Low (Derby), 13.
- Beakers: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Balsham (Cambs.), 15; Garton Slack (Som.), 8; Lilburn Steads (Northumb.), 15; Llanellieu Brecknock, 15; Lockeridge (Wilts.), 14; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14.
- Bear-baiting in the sixteenth century, 141-3.
- Beaufort, Henry, bishop of Winchester, 74.
- Bedfordshire: see Caddington, Kempston.
- Bellapaise Abbey (Cyprus), shields on the door lintel at, 204, 220.
- Benham, William Gurney, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Berkshire: see Brimpton, Cookham Dene, Inkpen, Ipsden, Lambourn Downs, Maidenhatch, Newbury.
- Berlin, art treasures and ethnographical collections of, 172-3; carved ivory pyxis of the fourth century, at, 51, 52.
- Bestiaries in Early Christian art, 50, 52, 53.
- Betrayal, the, alabaster table of 119-21.
- Biadene, Professor, on the origin of the term 'madrigal', 231-2.
- Bidder, Lt.-Colonel H. F., on further excavations in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Mitcham (Surrey), 201-2.
- Billingshurst (Sussex), flint celt from, exhibited, 81.
- Binnington Carr (Yorks.), flint dagger from, 16.
- Birds, symbolic, in pagan and Early Christian art, 48-53, 55-8, 60, 62.
- Birds-heads, copper, from Tell el-'Obaid (Mesopotamia), 31, 34, 39.
- Blair, C. H. Hunter, on the Seal of Harold's College at Waltham Holy Cross (Essex), 144-6.

- Bolton, A. T., remarks by, 78.
- Bone implements: Green Lowe (Derby), 12; tool, Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14.
- Bottisham Lode (Cambs.), flint dagger from, exhibited, 21.
- Boughay, Rev. Anchtel Harry Fletcher, elected, 222; admitted, 238.
- Bowls: from burials, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; of Anglo-Saxon type, bronze, from Mitcham (Surrey), 202; of Rhages ware, exhibited, 240; wassail bowls, exhibited, 115-16.
- Bows, Cretan, 155-7.
- Boynton, Thomas, death of, 1, 160; obituary notice, 162.
- Brabrook, Sir Edward William, re-elected Director, 169.
- Bracci, Domenico Augusto, cast of a medal presented in 1775 to, exhibited and presented to the Society, 44.
- Bracelets: bronze, Ibero-Roman, 108; bronze, two, belonging to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, exhibited, 97-101.
- Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts.), sculptured angels in church, 45.
- Brasses, monumental: three of the sixteenth century exhibited and presented to the Society, 67; two groups of sons exhibited and presented, 222.
- Breadalbane brooch, the, exhibited, 63; notes on, 63-6.
- Brecknockshire: see Llanellieu.
- Bredsgård (Jutland), Bronze Age antiquities from, 99, 100.
- Bridge, Sir Frederick, remarks by, 238.
- Brimpton (Berks.), palaeolithic axe found at, 87, 88.
- British Academy and the Joint Archaeological Committee, 174.
- British Museum: archaeological researches of, 175; arrow-heads, bronze and iron, 146-57; Breadalbane brooch, 63-6; compositions of madrigalists and lutenists in MS., 234, 236; dagger, iron, from Marathon, 146; excavations on behalf of, in Mesopotamia, 22-44; flint daggers, 16, 17; illuminated manuscripts, 45; Queen Ethelswith's ring, 113; slingshot, leaden, from Marathon, 146.
- Brock, Admiral, collection of iron arrow-heads found at Marathon, 147, 158.
- Bronze Age, 18-21, 85, 99, 147, 156; in Cyprus, 69; various antiquities exhibited, 91-3.
- Bronze objects: armlets, Bredsgård (Jutland), 99, 100; Stoke Prior (Worc.), 97; arrow-heads, Cnossos, 154-6; Crete, 154-7; Cyprus, 148, 150; Egypt, 152, 154, 155; Greece, 147, 153-7; Marathon, 146, 147, 152-7; Olympia, 154, 155; bowl, Mitcham (Surrey), 202; bracelets, Royal Institution of Cornwall, 97-101; bracelets, Ibero-Roman, 108; brooch, from between Fricourt and Bray (France), 94; buckle, Mitcham (Surrey), 202; frame of a gypcière, Maidenhatch (Berks.), 108; implements, Lapethes (Cyprus), 69; Welwyn (Hertford), 203; knife or razor, Inkpen (Berks.), 93, 96; knife-dagger, Penton Mewsey (Hants), 91, 95; palstaves, Vernham's Dean (Hants), 92; Wey river, near Weybridge (Surrey), 91; portrait medal, 141; processional cross, 129-31; rings, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; rods, medieval, from Spain, 138-40; surgical instrument, Weston-sub-Edge (Glos.), 94, 96.
- Brooches: bronze, found between Fricourt and Bray (France), 94; penannular, Breadalbane, the, 63-6; Londesborough, the, 65, 66; Queen's, the, from co. Cavan, 65; Rogart group from Sutherlandshire, 66; from Canterbury (Kent), 65; co. Cavan, 65; Croy (Inverness-shire), 65; Dunshaughlin (co. Meath), 65; Hunterston (Ayrshire), 65; Pierowall (Orkney), 66; Skryne (co. Meath), 66; Snaasen, Nordre Trondhjem, 64-6; Sutherlandshire, 66; Tara (co. Meath), 65, 66.
- Brooke, J. W., 14; exhibits flint dagger found near Marlborough (Wilts.), 19.
- Browne, Right Rev. Bishop G. F., on a bamboo staff of dignity of the seventeenth century, 109-11; on the Stone Circles of Aberdeenshire, 225-6; remarks by, 111, 224, 227.
- Browne, Mr., remarks by, 200.
- Brussels, Royal Library: madrigals by Robert Jones, in MS., 234.
- Buckinghamshire: see Hitcham.
- Buckle, bronze, of Roman type, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 202.
- Budge, Sir Ernest, 184.
- Bullae, three papal and six Spanish,

- exhibited and presented to the Society, 44.
- Bulls, copper, from Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 31, 34, 37, 39.
- Bull's horn, gold, from Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 39.
- Burials, ancient: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Durrington Walls (Wilts.), 13; Enkomi (Cyprus), 68; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8, 9; Green Lowe (Derby), 11, 12; Lapethos (Cyprus), 69; Lilburn Stands (Northumb.), 15; Llanelieu (Brecknock), 15; Lockeridge (Wilts.), 14; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 9-11; Mitcham (Surrey), 201-2; Nether Low (Derby), 12, 13; Norton Hall (Northants), 15; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 13, 14; Stonehenge (Wilts.), 13; Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; Three Lows, near Wetton (Stafford), 18; Welwyn (Hertford), 203; Wick barrow, Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7, 8.
- Burke, Major Arthur Meredyth, death of, 160; obituary notice, 162.
- Burnard, Robert, death of, 160; obituary notice, 162-3.
- Bushe-Foxe, Major, remarks by, 200.
- Buttons: jet, Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8, 9; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; marl or chalk, Durrington Walls (Wilts.), 13, 14.
- Buxton, L. H. D., on excavations in Cyprus in 1913, 68-9.
- Byrd, William, musical compositions of, 228, 233, 236.
- Caddington (Beds.), flint implements from, 144.
- Caesar on the towns of the Gauls, 188, 189, 192.
- Cairo, ancient monuments of, 101, 103-6; houses, 103; walls, 105; Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, 104, 105; Museum of Arab Art, 102, 107; Tanzim, the, 104-7; Tombs of the Khalifs, 105, 107.
- Cairo Museum, 178, 180.
- Calais Wold (Yorks.), neolithic lance-head from, 21.
- Calleva: see Silchester.
- Cambridgeshire: see Balsham, Bottisham Lodge, Ely, Quy Fen.
- Candlestick, travelling, medieval, exhibited, 132-6.
- Canterbury (Kent): penannular brooch from, 65; plan of walls of, 193, 195; roads, 196.
- Carving: see Sculpture.
- Castle Frazer (Aberdeen), stone circle at, 225.
- Cavan, co., penannular brooches from, 65.
- Cavendish, Michael, musical compositions of, 234.
- Celts: flint, from Billingshurst (Sussex), exhibited, 81; small greenstone, from Jamaica, exhibited, 221; socketed, Smannell, near Andover (Hants), 93; Westonsul-Edge (Glos.), 93.
- Chadwyck-Healey, Sir Charles E. H., death of, 1, 160; obituary notice, 163.
- Chalice, silver: see Church plate.
- Chamberlayne, Major T. J., the late, and his chapel at Kyrenia (Cyprus), 204, 206, 210, 212, 220, 221.
- Chichester (Sussex), Romano-British site of, 193-5.
- China, iron arrow-heads from, 150, 151, 158.
- Chitty, Herbert, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Christchurch (Hants), fragment of copper basin of La Tène period, found at, exhibited, 98.
- Church plate: medieval silver chalice and paten, belonging to Clifford Chambers church (Glos.), exhibited, 97.
- Churchill, G. O., exhibits a bowl of Rhages ware, 240.
- Cinerary urns: Penton Mewsey (Hants), 91, 95; Three Lows, near Wetton (Stafford), 18; Welwyn (Hertford), 203.
- Clapham, A. W., on the Latin monastic remains of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, 2.
- Clarke, Somers, on excavations at Fostat (Egypt), 101-7.
- Clay rosettes, from Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 39.
- Clement, St., alabaster image of, 124, 125.
- Clement of Rome on the phoenix-legend, 49.
- Clement II, bull of, 44, 45.
- Clifford Chambers (Glos.), medieval silver chalice and paten, belonging to the church, exhibited, 97.
- Cnossos, bronze arrow-heads from, 154-6.
- Coins: Cretan, 155-7; Roman, with representations of the phoenix, 49; Romano-British, 192, 195, 201; of Epillus, son of Commius, 192, 195.

- Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill (Wilts.), potsherds of the Romano-British period found at, 94, 96.
- Coles, J. Howell, owner of two flint implements (exhibited) found at West Chiltington (Sussex), 79-82.
- Collingwood, Robin George, elected, 109.
- Colossi Castle (Cyprus), shields of arms at, 204, 206, 210, 211.
- Constantine Island, near Harlyn Bay (Cornwall), beach-pebble of greenstone used as a hammer found on, 93-4, 96.
- Constantinople, church of St. Sophia at: water-colour drawing of the interior exhibited and presented to the Society, 117.
- Conway, Sir William Martin, re-elected a member of the Council, 170; remarks by, 78, 96, 224.
- Cookham Dene (Berks.), flint dagger from, 17.
- Copper objects: basin, Christchurch (Hants), 93; birds'-heads, Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 31, 34, 39; bulls, Tell el-'Obeid, 31, 34, 37, 39; cache, Tell el-'Obeid, 30; image of Virgin and Child, from Spain, 186-8; lion-heads, Tell el-'Obeid, 31, 32, 34, 38; medieval travelling candlestick, 132-6; panther-heads, Tell el-'Obeid, 31, 32, 38; stags, in relief, Tell el-'Obeid, 36-40; various objects, Tell el-'Obeid, 31.
- Cornwall, Royal Institution of, two bronze bracelets belonging to, exhibited, 97-101.
- Cornwall: see Constantine Island.
- Coronation of the Virgin Mary, alabaster tables of, 128.
- Crace, John Diblee, death of, 160; obituary notice, 163.
- Cranbourne Chase (Dorset), neolithic implements from, exhibited, 89.
- Crawford, O. G. S., on some Bronze Age and other antiquities, 85-95.
- Cretan bow and arrow, 155-7.
- Crete: bronze arrow-heads from, 154-7; silver coins, with arrow-heads, 155-7. See also Cnossos.
- Cross, English bronze processional, with staff, exhibited, 129-31.
- Crossley, Ely Wilkinson, elected, 109; admitted, 203.
- Crossley, Frederick Herbert, elected, 109.
- Crowther-Beynon, Vernon Bryan, exhibits fragments of English alabaster tables, 124; re-elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Croy (Inverness-shire), penannular brooch from, 65.
- Croydon (Surrey): resolution concerning proposals of the Croydon Corporation to destroy the Whitgift Hospital, 201.
- Crucifixion, the, alabaster panel of, 129.
- Cumberland: see Irlington.
- Cunningham, Ven. William, death of, 160; obituary notice, 164.
- Cups of pear or beech wood, of the seventeenth century, exhibited, 114-15.
- Cyprus: archaeological research in, 179-80; bronze arrow-heads from, 148-150; excavations in 1918, 68-9; pottery, 69.
- The Heraldry of, 204-21; royal heraldry, 204-6; ordinary of surviving heraldry in 1919, 206-14.
- Daggers: bronze, Penton Mewsey (Hants), 91, 95; flint, see Flint daggers; Iberian, exhibited, 108; iron, from Marathon, 146.
- Dale, William, on two palaeolithic implements from Dunbridge, near Romsey (Hants), 3-4; appointed a scrutator of the ballot, 159; proposes resolution regarding the proposed destruction of Whitgift Hospital, 201; remarks by, 81, 95, 112, 202, 238.
- d'Almaine, H. G. W., on 'The Devil's Ninepins', Ipsden, near Wallingford (Berks.), 111-12.
- Dalton, O. M., on an Anglo-Saxon ivory carving found near St. Cross (Hants), 45-7; on a detail from the mosaic pavement at Umm Jerar (Palestine), 47-53; on a sculptured marble slab from northern Mesopotamia, 54-68.
- Daphni (Attica), mosaic of the eleventh century in the monastic church at, 59.
- Dawber, Edward Guy, elected, 109; admitted, 109.
- Denmark, flint daggers in, 19-21.
- Derbyshire: see Arbor Low, Green Lowe, Nether Low, Smerrill Moor.
- des Roches, Peter, bishop of Winchester, 78.
- Documents: Alleyn manuscripts, Dulwich College and the Record Office, 142; transcript of grant to St. Cuthbert's, Durham, 144-5.
- Dorling, Rev. E. E., remarks by, 221.
- Dorset: see Cranbourne Chase, Purbeck Island.

- Dowland, John, songs and madrigals of, 228, 229.
- Downing, Henry Philip Burke, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Drake, Sir Francis, 76.
- Drake, Richard, of Esher (Surrey), 70, 76.
- Druce, G. C., remarks by, 53, 77.
- Druidism in Scotland, 226.
- Dublin Museum: Queen's brooch, from co. Cavan, 65.
- Dunbridge (Hants), palaeolithic implements from, 3-4.
- Duncan, Leland, remarks by, 96, 116.
- Dunmow (Essex), flint dagger from, 17.
- Dunshaughlin (co. Meath), penannular brooch from, 65.
- Durham: grant to St. Cuthbert's, with seal of Harold's College, Waltham Holy Cross (Essex), in the treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, 144-6; manuscripts of church music in the cathedral library, 238.
- Durrington Walls, near Amesbury (Wilts.), ancient burial at, with associated finds, 13, 14.
- Dyce (Aberdeen), stone circle at, 225.
- Eagles as emblems in pagan and Early Christian art, 56-8, 63.
- Eastwood, F., exhibits five medieval ridge-tiles from Woodyates Manor House, Salisbury (Wilts.), 67.
- Eden, Frederick Charles, elected, 67; admitted, 68.
- Edingdon, William, bishop of Winchester, 74.
- Edmondson, H. H., objects of turned wood lent by, for exhibition, 116.
- Edward the Confessor, St., alabaster table with, 118, 119.
- Edward I at Esher (Surrey), 73.
- Edwards, Richard, musical compositions of, 236.
- Egypt: ancient monuments, 101-7; archaeological research, 177-80, 182-3; bronze and iron arrowheads from, 149, 150, 152, 154, 156, 157; find of jewellery in, 177-8, 184-5.
- Elam, prehistoric, 83-5.
- Elizabeth, Queen, at Esher (Surrey), 70; acquires the manor house, 76.
- Elizabethan madrigals, 227-38.
- Ellis, H. D., owner of wooden wassail bowl with arms of the Russia Company of London (exhibited), 115-16.
- Ely (Cambs.), flint dagger from, 18.
- Enamels: pair of gemellions, exhibited, 131-2; travelling candlestick, medieval, exhibited, 132-6; two fragments of medieval Limoges champlevé enamel-work, exhibited, 135-6.
- Enkomi (Cyprus), excavations at, 68.
- Eolithic implements, 95, 96; from Ashmore Down (Wilts.), exhibited, 85; Kingsclere (Hants), 86.
- Epiphanius on the phoenix-legend, 49.
- Eridu: see Abu Shahrein, Tell.
- Esher (Surrey), the ancient Manor House of the bishopric of Winchester at, 69-79; gallery, 74, 75, 78; gatehouse, 69, 70, 76, 78, 79; plan of Esher Place, 69, 70, 71.
- Essex: see Audley End, Dunmow, Grays, Waltham Holy Cross.
- Eumorfopoulos, George, seconds vote of thanks to the President for his address, 185.
- Evans, Sir Arthur, remarks by, 42, 83, 111, 118.
- Evans, Sir Evan Vincent, proposes vote of thanks to the President for his address, 185.
- Evans, Sir John, on flint implements, 6, 7, 16, 18.
- Excavations: Cyprus, 68-9; Esher Place (Surrey), 69; Postât (Egypt), 101-7; Hal Tarxien (Malta), 240; Mesopotamia, 22-44; Mitcham (Surrey), 201-2; Silchester (Hants), 187, 199; Stonehenge (Wilts.), 240; Wexcombe Down (Wilts.), 90.
- Famagusta (Cyprus), surviving heraldry at, 206-14.
- Fellowes, Rev. Edmund H., on Elizabethan Madrigals, 227-38.
- Fincham, Henry Walter, elected, 67; admitted, 68.
- Fire-altars: detail from carved ivory pyxis at Berlin, 51, 52; detail from mosaic at Umun Jerar (Palestine), 48, 51.
- Fleure, Herbert John, elected, 222.
- Flint daggers, chronology of, 6-22.
- Daggers from: Aclam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Arbor Low (Derby), 15, 16; Balsham (Cambs.), 15; Binnington (Yorks.), 16; Bottisham Lode (Cambs.), 21; Cookham Dene (Berks.), 17; Denmark, 19-21; Dunmow (Essex), 17; Durring-

- ton Walls (Wilts.), 13, 14; Ely (Cambs.), 18; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8-10; Grays (Essex), 16; Green Lowe (Derby), 12; Herdsman's Hill (Northants.), 14; Hitcham (Bucks.), 17; Hornsey (Middx.), 17; Irthlington (Cumberland), 16; Italy, 18; Jutland, 19; Kempston (Beds.), 17; Kingston-on-Thames (Surrey), 17; Lilburn Steads (Northumb.), 15; Llanelieu (Brecknock), 15; Lockeridge (Wilts.), 14; Marlborough (Wilts.), 19; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; Mildenhall (Suffolk), 16; Nether Low (Derby), 12; Norton Hall (Northants.), 15; Quy Fen (Cambs.), 17; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7, 8; Stonehenge (Wilts.), 13; Sweden, 19; Thames river, 16, 17, 18, 21; Three Lows, near Wetton (Stafford), 18; Topcliffe (Yorks.), 16; Vinnac, Aveyron (France), 18; Zealand, 19.
- Flint implements: Abu Shalrein (Mesopotamia), 28, 33; Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Caddington (Beds.), 144; Gaddesden Row (Herts.), 144; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 9; Green Lowe (Derby), 12; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; Monkton Farleigh (Wilts.), 90; Nether Low (Derby), 12, 13; Newbury (Berks.), 89, 90; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7; Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 29; Welwyn (Hertford), 203; West Chilton (Sussex), 79-82. *See also* Flint daggers, and Eolithic, Neolithic, and Palaeolithic implements.
- Floyer, Rev. J. K., on the ancient Manor House of the bishopric of Winchester at Esher (Surrey), 69-77; remarks by, 78; appointed a scrutator of the ballot, 159.
- Ford, Thomas, musical compositions of, 229.
- Forsdyke, E. J., on some arrow-heads from the battlefield of Marathon, 146-57; remarks by, 158.
- Fostât (Egypt), excavations at, 101-7; houses of, 102, 103; mosque of Amr, 101.
- Foster, Michael George, elected, 67.
- Fountains, symbolic, in early decorative sculpture, 58-62.
- Fowler, R. C., remarks by, 77, 146.
- Fox, Richard, bishop of Winchester, 74, 76.
- Fox, W. H., remarks by, 78.
- Freshfield, E. H., remarks by, 3.
- Gaddesden Row (Herts.), flint implements from, 144.
- Gardiner, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, 75, 76.
- Gardner, A. Dunn, owner of wooden standing cup of the seventeenth century, and wassail bowls (exhibited), 114-16.
- Garstang, Professor, remarks by, 43.
- Garton Slack (Yorks.), ancient burials at, with associated grave furniture, 8-10.
- Gaulish towns in northern France, 188-90, 192, 198, 199; in Italy, 190, 201.
- Gemellions, pair of, exhibited, 131-2.
- Gibbons, Orlando, musical compositions of, 233, 234, 237, 238.
- Giuseppi, M. S., remarks by, 78.
- Glass, Roman, found at Welwyn (Herts.), exhibited, 203.
- Gloucestershire: *see* Clifford Chambers, Weston-sub-Edge.
- Gold objects: bull's horn, Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 39; ring, Meaux Abbey (Yorks.), 112-13.
- Goodyear, Thomas, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Graham, Miss Rose, elected *honoris causa*, 222; admitted, 227.
- Grave furniture: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8-10; Green Lowe (Derby), 12; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; Wick barrow, Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7.
- Gray, St. George, excavation of Wick barrow (Som.), 7.
- Grays (Essex), flint dagger from, 16.
- Greece, bronze arrow-heads from, 147, 153-7.
- Greek bestiaries, 50, 52, 53.
- Green, Emanuel, death of, 160.
- Green Lowe, Alsop Moor (Derby), ancient burial at, with associated grave furniture, 11, 12.
- Gregory XIII, bull of, 44, 45.
- Griffin, Ralph, appointed auditor of accounts, 68.
- Griffiths, Percival Davis, appointed auditor of accounts, 68; owner of wooden standing cups of the seventeenth century (exhibited), 114.
- Grime's Graves (Norfolk), palaeolithic implement from, 81, 82.

- Gryphons in decorative sculpture, 58, 59, 61.
- Hall, H. R., on excavations on behalf of the British Museum in Mesopotamia, 22-42; remarks by, 43, 58, 63, 100, 107, 157; elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Hallstatt Period, 99.
- Hal-Tarxien (Malta), report on the excavations at, 240.
- Hammer, beach-pebble of greenstone used as, found on Constantine Island, near Harlyn Bay (Cornwall), 93-4, 96.
- Hammer-head, polished, from Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8.
- Hampshire: see Christchurch, Dunbridge, Kingsclere, Moyles Court, Penton Mewsey, St. Cross, Silchester, Smannell, Vernham's Dean, Winchester Museum.
- Hampton Court (Middx.), 76; moat, 69; water-supply, 77, 78.
- Hancock, Rev. Frederick, death of, 160; obituary notice, 164.
- Hannah, Ian Campbell, admitted, 222.
- Hardy, William John, death of, 1, 160; obituary notice, 164.
- Haverfield, Professor Francis John, death of, 1, 160; obituary notice, 164-5.
- Hawley, Lt.-Colonel W., on the excavations at Stonehenge (Wilts.), 240.
- Hemp, W. J., remarks by, 21; elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Henderson, Arthur, exhibits and presents a water-colour drawing by himself of the interior of the church of St. Sophia, Constantinople, 117.
- Henry VIII at Esher (Surrey), 74; acquires the manor house, 76.
- Heraldry of Cyprus, 204-21.
- heraldic codex of the sixteenth century, Correr Museum, Venice, 214, 219; heraldry on brass shield, 222; on gemellions, 132; on medieval travelling candlestick, 134-5; on wooden wassail bowl, 116. Arms of: Armenia, 206; Aubigni, Philip d', 210; Barbaro family, 206; Burgundy, 134, 135; Castile and Leon impaling Portugal, 45; Champagne, 134, 135; Charpigny, Brochard de, 212; Contarini family, 219; Costanzo family, 209; Cyprus, kingdom of, 206; Del Prisco, Ugolino, 208; Donato, Francesco, Doge, 207; Donato, Nicolo, 207; England, 222; France, 132, 134, 135; Genoese families, 208, 209, 213, 220; Gibellet, Arnaud de, 220; Giblet, de, 220; Giustiniani of Genoa, 209; Hugh IV of Cyprus, 204; Jerusalem, kingdom of, 204, 206, 220; Lastic, Jean de, 211; Lioni family, 219; Loredano, Pietro, Doge, 213; Lusignans, 204, 206, 220; Marabotus, Balanus, 209; Marocelli family, 220-1; Michaeli, Marco, 207; Milli, Jacques de, 210; Muscovia or Russia Company of London, 116; Navarre, 134, 135; Nevilles of Cyprus, 212, 221; Nevills of Bulmer, 212; Orsini, Aldobrandino, 208; Prioli, Nicolo, 212; Prioli, Sebastian, 212; Ragazzoni, Pietro, 210; Sant Anno, Antonio di, 209; Venetian families, 206, 207, 209, 212, 219, 221; William of Wainfleet, 77; Wolsey, Cardinal, impaled with the see of Winchester, 75 n.
- Herdsmen's Hill, Newark, near Peterborough (Northants), ancient burial at, 14.
- Herodotus on the phoenix-legend, 49.
- Herriott, R., palstaves exhibited by, 92.
- Hertfordshire: see Gaddesden Row, Welwyn.
- Hierapolis (Phrygia), iron arrow-heads from, 148, 149.
- Hildburgh, Dr. W. L., on some English alabaster tables, 117-29; on an English bronze processional cross with original staff, and other examples of medieval metal work, 129-40; exhibits and presents three papal and six Spanish leaden bullae, 44; various exhibits by, 108; remarks by, 140, 158.
- Hill, Arthur Frederick, elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Hill, G. F., exhibits and presents a cast of a medal presented in 1775 to Domenico Augusto Bracci, 44.
- Hitcham (Bucks.), flint dagger from, 17.
- Hoare, Sir Richard Colt, 13.
- Hodgson, Rev. F. H., exhibits a medieval silver chalice and paten, 97.
- Hogarth, D. G., remarks by, 43.
- Hone or whetstone, from Durrington Walls (Wilts.), 13, 14.
- Hooton, Dr. E. A., excavations by, 90.

- Hope, Sir William H. St. John, death of, 1; resolution of appreciation of his services to the Society, 2; obituary notice, 168-9.
- Hopwood, C. H., remarks by, 225.
- Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London: alabaster panel of the Crucifixion, 129, 141.
- Hornsey (Middx.), flint dagger from, 17.
- Howard of Effingham, Lord, Esher Place bestowed on, 76.
- Howard, Henry, owner of wooden standing cup of the seventeenth century, 115.
- Hughes, Talbot, objects of turned wood lent by, for exhibition, 116.
- Human remains: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Green Lowe (Derby), 11, 12; Lockeridge (Wilts.), 14; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 9; Mitcham (Surrey), 201-2; Nether Low (Derby), 12, 13; Norton Hall (Northants), 15; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; Stonehenge (Wilts.), 13; Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; Three Lows, near Wetton (Stafford), 18; Wick barrow, Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7, 8.
- Hunterston (Ayrshire), penannular brooch from, 65.
- Hutchinson, Jonathan, owner of wooden standing cup of the seventeenth century (exhibited), 114.
- Iberian dagger, exhibited, 108.
- Ibero-Roman bronze bracelets, exhibited, 108.
- Imgig, tutelary genius of Lagash, copper relief of, found at Tell el-'Obaid (Mesopotamia), 36-8, 40.
- India, archaeological research in, 180-1.
- Inkpen (Berks.), bronze two-bladed knife or razor found at, exhibited, 93, 96.
- Inscriptions: found on Roman site of Silchester (Hants), 191 n.; in silver letters, on bronze frame of a gypcière, 108; on a bamboo staff of dignity of the seventeenth century, 109; on seal of Harold's College, Waltham Holy Cross (Essex), 144; on wooden cup of the seventeenth century, 115.
- Ipsden (Berks.), 'The Devil's Ninepins' at, 111-12.
- Ireland: neolithic arrow-heads, 21; penannular brooches, 64-6. See also Cavan, Dublin, Dunshaughlin, Skryne.
- Irish 'potato-rings', 116-17.
- Iron objects: arrow-heads, China, 150, 151, 158; Egypt, 149, 150, 154, 156; Hierapolis (Phrygia), 148, 149; Japan, 150, 151, 158; Jerusalem, 149; Lycia, 148, 149, 152; Marathon, 146-52; Menidi (Attica), 148; Siberia, 150, 151; dagger, Marathon, 146; pyrites, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8; Green Lowe (Derby), 12; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; spear-heads, Marathon, 146.
- Irthington (Cumberland), flint dagger from, 16.
- Istabalat (Mesopotamia), marble statuette found at, 88.
- Italy, flint daggers from, 18.
- Ivory carving, Anglo-Saxon, found near St. Cross (Hants), 45-7.
- Jack, Gavin Haynes, admitted, 3.
- Jackson, Sir C. J., owner of wooden standing cup of the seventeenth century (exhibited), 114.
- Jackson, Sir Thomas G., remarks by, 2.
- Jamaica, small greenstone celt from, exhibited, 221.
- Japan, iron arrow-heads from, 150, 151, 158.
- Jeffery, G. E., on the Heraldry of Cyprus, 204-21.
- Jenkinson, Charles Hilary, elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Jerusalem, iron arrow-heads from, 149; Latin monastic remains of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at, 2.
- Jet: bead, Nether Low (Derby), 13; buttons, Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8, 9; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10; rings, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Durrington Walls (Wilts.), 13, 14; stud, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11.
- Jewellery, Egyptian, found at Lahun, 177-8, 184-5.
- John I, King of Castile and Portugal, two bullae of, 45.
- Johnson, Charles, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Jones, Robert, madrigals of, 234.
- Joyce, Sir Matthew Ingle, elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Juana II, of Castile, bullae of, 45.
- Jutland, flint daggers in, 19.

- Karlsruhe, Grand-ducal Museum: arrow-heads from Marathon, 147, 152, 157.
- Karslake, Lieut.-Colonel J. B. P., on Silchester and its relations to the pre-Roman civilization of Gaul, 185-200; remarks by, 201.
- Keith, Professor, 14.
- Kempston (Beds.), flint dagger from, 17.
- Kent, William, alterations by, at Esher Place (Surrey), 77.
- Kent: *see* Shoreham, Tunbridge.
- Kenyon, Sir Frederic, on the disposal of the Egyptian jewellery from Lahun, 184-5; remarks by, 42.
- Keyser, C. E., exhibits a bronze frame of a gypcière recently found at Maidenhatch, near Pangbourne (Berks.), 108.
- King, Professor Leonard William, death of, 1, 160; obituary notice, 165-6.
- Kingsclere (Hants), eolithic stone from, 86.
- Kingsford, C. L., on Paris Garden and the bear-baiting, 141-2; remarks by, 78, 143, 200; elected a member of the Council, and appointed a Vice-President, 170.
- Kingsford, H. S., remarks by, 146.
- Kingston-on-Thames (Surrey), flint dagger from, 17.
- Knives: bronze, Inkpen (Berks.), 98, 96; flint, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 9; Stoke-Courcy (Som.), 7; obsidian, Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 29, 88.
- Knowle (Wilts.), palaeolithic implement from, 86, 95.
- Kyrenia (Cyprus), heraldic arms at, 207, 210, 214.
- Lacey, Canon Thomas Alexander, elected, 222.
- Lagash, dominion of, 80, 86, 87, 40.
- Lahun (Egypt), find of jewellery at, and its subsequent disposal, 177-8, 184-5.
- Laking, Sir Guy Francis, death of, 160; obituary notice, 166.
- Lambert, Frank, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Lambourn Downs (Berks.), flint daggers from, 16.
- Lampousa (Cyprus), excavations at, 68.
- Lance-heads, neolithic: Calais Wold (Yorks.), 21; Winterbourn Stoke (Wilts.), 21.
- Lances, armed with hollow bones, from New Guinea, 154.
- Langdon, Professor S., on a Sumerian figure from Mesopotamia in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 82-3; remarks by, 85.
- Lapethos (Cyprus), excavations near, 68-9.
- Larnaca (Cyprus), excavations at, 69; surviving heraldry in, 204, 205.
- Larnakes: *see* Pottery coffins.
- La Tène period, part of copper basin of the, exhibited, 93.
- Laver, Philip Guyon, admitted, 221.
- Lawrence, F. G., flint daggers from the Thames exhibited by, 21.
- Leeds, E. T., 14.
- Leuca, the, as a measure of length, 196-8.
- Levkoniko (Cyprus), excavations at, 68.
- Lezo (Spain), wooden image of Christ, of English origin, in church at, 127-8.
- Library accessions 1919-20, 241-53.
- Lilburn Steads, Wooler (Northumb.), ancient burial at, 15.
- Limoges enamel work, 134, 135.
- Lincolnshire: *see* Wootton.
- Lion-heads, copper, from Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 31, 32, 34, 38.
- Llanelieu (Brecknock), ancient burial at, with associated finds, 15.
- Lloyd, Richard Llewellyn, elected, 67.
- Lockeridge, near Marlborough (Wilts.), ancient burial at, 14.
- Londesborough brooch, the, 65, 66.
- LONDON:
- Bankside, 143.
- Battersea, flint dagger from the Thames at, 16.
- Bear Garden, 142.
- Chelsea Bridge, flint dagger from the Thames near, 17.
- City Churches and the Report of the Bishop of London's Commission: the President stated that he proposed to bring the matter before the Council for consideration and to report to the Society, 203; Memorial to the Bishop of London, 223-4; Memorial discussed and adopted, 224-5.
- Hammersmith, flint dagger from the Thames at, 17.
- London Bridge, flint dagger from the Thames near, 17.
- Maiden Lane, 142.
- Mason Stairs, 142.

- Middlesex Passage, Bartholomew Close, holy-water stoup or mortar found in, 4.
- Old Bear Garden, 142.
- Paris Garden and the bear-baiting, 141-3.
- Paris Garden Stairs, 142.
- Stews, the, 143.
- See also British Museum, Horniman Museum, London Museum, University College, Victoria and Albert Museum, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.
- London Museum: flint daggers from the Thames, exhibited, 21.
- Lycia, iron arrow-heads from, 148, 149, 152.
- Lyons, Lieut.-Colonel George Babington Croft, remarks by, 111; re-elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Ma'abed, Tell el.: see 'Obeid, Tell el.
- Macalister, Professor Alexander, death of, 160; obituary notice, 166.
- Madrigals, Elizabethan, 227-38.
- Mahmud II, emblem of, 56, 57.
- Maidenhatch, near Pangbourne (Berks.), bronze frame of a gypsière found at, exhibited, 108.
- Manuscripts, illuminated, 45-7; book of Lessons from the Gospels, Magdalen College, Oxford, 75 n.; *Phylologus* or Greek bestiary at Smyrna, 50-3.
- Marathon, arrow-heads from the battlefield of, 146-58.
- Marble: statuette, Istabalat (Mesopotamia), 83; statuettes, of a man, and of Venus and Cupid, 108.
- Markides, Menelaos, excavation work in Cyprus by, 68.
- Marlborough (Wilts.), flint dagger found near, exhibited, 21.
- Martin, William, remarks by, 142.
- Matheson, J. F., leaf-shaped arrow-head found by, exhibited, 90.
- Meaux Abbey, near Beverley (Yorks.), gold ring from, exhibited, 112-13.
- Medieval metal-work, examples of, exhibited, 129-40.
- Megalithic period, 6.
- Menidi (Attica), iron arrow-heads from, 148.
- Mere (Wilts.), antiquities preserved in church at, 92, 93.
- Merovingian period, bronze brooch of the, exhibited, 94.
- Mesopotamia: archaeological research in, 175, 181; carved marble slab from, 54-63; excavations in, 22-44; Sumerian figure from, 82-3.
- Miafarkin (N. Mesopotamia), carved marble slab from, 54-63.
- Middlesex: see Hampton Court, Hornsey, Sunbury.
- Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), ancient burials at, with associated grave furniture, 9-11.
- Midmar (Aberdeen), stone circle at, 225.
- Mildenhall (Suffolk), flint dagger from, 16.
- Military effigy, head of, in Peterborough Museum, 239-40.
- Minet, William, seconds resolution of regret at the death of Sir W. Hope, 2; re-elected Treasurer, 169.
- Minns, Ellis Hovell, elected, 222.
- Minoan, Late, antiquities, 68; arrow-heads, 156.
- Mitcham (Surrey), further excavations and finds in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at, 201-2.
- Moffatt, H. C., owner of wooden stand cup of the seventeenth century (exhibited), 114.
- Molesey (Surrey), flint dagger from the Thames at, 17.
- Monkton Farleigh (Wilts.), triangular arrow-head found at, 90.
- Montelius, Professor, on flint daggers, 20.
- Morfu monastery (Cyprus), shield of arms at, 210.
- Morley, Thomas, musical compositions of, 228, 231, 236-8.
- Mortar, or holy-water stoup, found in Bartholomew Close (London), 4-5.
- Mortars, wooden, exhibited, 114, 116.
- Mortimer, J. R., the late, exploration of barrows by, 8, 9, 11.
- Mosaic: mud pillars with geometrical patterns, Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 39, 41; pavements, Umm Jerar (Palestine), 47-53; Wadi Shellal, 47, 51; representing the Prayer of Joachim and Anne, in the church of Daphni (Attica), 59.
- Mousterian implement, from Thiéval (France), 87.
- Moyles Court (Hants.), palaeolithic axe found near, exhibited, 86, 87, 95.
- Mukayyar, Tell el. (Ur 'of the Chaldees'), Mesopotamia, excavations at, 22-5, 27; finds, 25, 27, 31, 32; house-burials, 25, 27; pot-burials,

- 25, 30; sketch-plan showing mounds and excavations, 24; temple-tower, or *ziggurat*, excavation of, 25, 26, 40, 41; É-barsag (?), 'the House of the Mountain', discovery and excavation of, 25, 28, 29.
- Müller, Dr. Sophus, on flint daggers, 19, 20.
- Muscovia or Russia Company of London, arms of, on bowl formerly belonging to the Company, 115-16.
- Mycenean arrow-heads, 156.
- Myres, Professor J. L., on excavations in Cyprus in 1913, 68-9; elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Near East, archaeology in the, 173-5.
- Neolithic implements, 6, 7; from Calais Wold (Yorks.), 21; Cranbourne Chase (Dorset), 89; Ireland, 21; West Chiltington (Sussex), 79, 81; Winterbourn Stoke (Wilts.), 21; Woodcote Park, Epsom (Surrey), 90, 91. *See also* Flint daggers.
- Neolithic pottery, from Wexcombe Down (Wilts.), 90, 91, 95.
- Nether Low, Chelmorton (Derby), ancient burial at, with associated grave furniture, 12, 13.
- Newberry, Professor, remarks by, 84.
- Newbury (Berks.), flint axe found near, 89, 90.
- Museum: bronze brooch, 95; celt, 93; copper basin, 93; flint implements, 86, 87, 90.
- New Guinea, arms and lances from, armed with hollow bones, 154, 157.
- New York Metropolitan Museum: acquisition of Egyptian jewellery found at Lahun, 177-8, 185.
- Nicosia (Cyprus), surviving heraldry in, 204, 206-14, 220.
- Nimrud, Bir, site of, 22.
- Nippur, Bir, site of, 22.
- Norfolk: *see* Grime's Graves, Oxburgh Hall.
- Norman, Philip, seconds resolution regarding the proposed destruction of Whitgift Hospital, 201.
- Northamptonshire: *see* Herdsman's Hill, Norton Hall, Peterborough Museum.
- Northbourne, Walter Henry, Baron, remarks by, 225; elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Northumberland: *see* Lilburn Steads.
- Norton Hall, Daventry (Northants), ancient burial at, 15.
- 'Obeid (or Ma'abed), Tell el- (Mesopotamia), excavations at, 22, 29-41; finds, 29-31, 33, 34, 37-40, 84; limestone blocks, 30; mound and building, 30, 36, 37; mud pillars with geometrical patterns of mosaic, 39, 41.
- Olympia, bronze arrow-heads from, 154, 155.
- Oriental arrow-heads, 150-3.
- Oxburgh Hall (Norfolk), 70, 72.
- Oxford: Ashmolean Museum: palstaves found at Oxford, 92; Sumerian figure from Mesopotamia, 82-3. Bodleian Library: compositions of madrigalists and lutanists in MS., 234. Christ Church: anthems by Orlando Gibbons, in his own autograph, 234. Magdalen College Library: illuminated book of Lessons formerly belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, 75 n.
- Oxfordshire: *see* Oxford.
- Painting: water-colour drawing of the interior of the church of St. Sophia, Constantinople, exhibited and presented to the Society, 117.
- Pelaeolithic implements: Brimpton (Berks.), 87, 88; Dunbridge (Hants), 3-4; Knowle (Wilts.), 86, 87; Moyles Court (Hants), 86, 87, 95; Thiépvail (France), 87; West Chiltington (Sussex), 79, 80.
- Palestine, tessellated pavements in, 47.
- Palm-spathes and the fertilization of the date-palm, 62, 63.
- Palstaves: from Vernham's Dean (Hants), 92; from the Wey, near Weybridge (Surrey), 91; sites unknown, 91, 92-3.
- Panther-heads, copper, from Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 31, 32, 38.
- Papal bullae, three, exhibited and presented to the Society, 44.
- Paris Garden: *see* London.
- Paris, Robert, and Paris Garden, 142.
- Parsons, Professor, remarks by, 202.
- Passmore, A. D., exhibits fragments of flint daggers from Wilts., 19.
- Paten, silver, medieval, belonging to Clifford Chambers church (Glos.), exhibited, 97.
- Patrik, Nathaniel, musical compositions of, 234.

- Pavements, mosaic: Umm Jerar (Palestine), 47-53; Wadi Shellal (Palestine), 47, 51.
- Peckover of Wisbech, Alexander, first Baron, death of, 160; obituary notice, 167.
- Pedro I, King of Castile and Leon, bullae of, 46.
- Pedro de Valdez, Don, at Esher (Surrey), 74.
- Peers, C. R., remarks by, 5, 140, 143, 223; re-elected Secretary, 170.
- Pelham, Henry, acquires Esher Place (Surrey), 77.
- Pemberton, Colonel Ernest St. Clair, elected, 222; admitted, 222.
- Penrose, George, exhibits two bronze bracelets belonging to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 97.
- Penton Mewsey, near Andover (Hants), bronze knife-dagger and fragment of rim of an urn found at, exhibited, 91, 95.
- Persian arrow-heads from Marathon, 150, 156, 157.
- Peterborough Museum (Northants): head of a military effigy, 239-40.
- Petersham (Surrey), flint dagger from the Thames opposite Ham House, 16.
- Petrie, Professor Flinders, find of jewellery at Lahun (Egypt), and subsequent disposal of, 178, 184-5; on arrow-heads found in Egypt, 149, 153-5, 157, 158.
- Phoenix, the, in pagan and Early Christian art, 48-53.
- Physiologus*, or Greek bestiary, at Smyrna, 50-2.
- Pick, Samuel Perkins, death of, 160; obituary notice, 167.
- Pierowall (Orkney), penannular brooch from, 66.
- Pilgrims' Way, the, 195, 196.
- Pine-cones associated with fountains as symbols in decorative sculpture, 58-63.
- Pins: bone, Green Lowe (Derby), 12; silver, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25.
- Pits: Dunbridge (Hants), 3-4; Knowle (Wilts.), 86.
- Pixley, Francis William, appointed auditor of accounts, 68.
- Pontoise, John de, bishop of Winchester, 73.
- Portrait statues in dolerite, from Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25, 27.
- Pot-burials at Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25, 30.
- Pottery: Arabic: Fostat (Egypt), 106, 107. Bronze Age: Lapethos (Cyprus), 69. Cypriote: Larnaca (Cyprus), 69. Decorated: Abu Shahrein (Mesopotamia), 28, 33, 43; Tell el-'Obeid (Mesopotamia), 29. Medieval: Isle of Purbeck (Dorset), 95, 96. Neolithic: Wexcombe Down (Wilts.), 90, 91, 95. Roman: Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill (Wilts.), 94, 96; Welwyn (Hertford), 203.
- Pottery coffins (*harnakes*), from Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25, 31, 32.
- Poynter, Sir Edward John, death of, 160; obituary notice, 167.
- Prayer of Joachim and Anne, mosaic of, Daphni (Attica), 59.
- Price, Rev. Salisbury James Murray, elected, 67; admitted, 108.
- Prior, Professor Edward, elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Pritchard, John Emanuel, re-elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Purbeck, Isle of (Dorset), fragments of medieval vessel of red-and-black ware found in, 95, 96.
- Pyrites, iron: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8; Green Lowe (Derby), 12; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 10.
- Quarrell, W. H., remarks by, 100, 116, 202, 226.
- Queen's brooch, the, from co. Cavan, 65.
- Quseir, el- (Mesopotamia), ruins of, 29, 36.
- Quy Fen (Cambs.), flint dagger from, 17.
- Radford, Herbert George, death of, 160.
- Ramsden, Sir John, presentation of the Breadalbane brooch to the British Museum by, 63, 66.
- Raphael, Oscar, exhibits flint dagger from Bottisham Lode (Cambs.), 21.
- Rawlence, Ernest Alfred, elected, 109; admitted, 141.
- Rayleigh, William de, bishop of Winchester, 73.
- Razor, bronze, found at Inkpen (Berks.), 93, 96.
- Read, Sir C. Hercules, on the Breadalbane brooch, 63, 64; Presidential address, 170-83; proposes resolution of regret at the death of Sir W. Hope and appreciation of his services, 2; re-elected President,

- 169; remarks by, 1, 3, 4, 6, 21, 44, 47, 53, 63, 66, 79, 82, 85, 97, 100, 107, 141, 158, 200, 203, 221, 224, 225, 227, 238.
- Reade, E. A., and 'The Devil's Ninepins', Ipsden (Berks.), 110-11.
- Renton, James Hall, elected, 67; admitted, 85.
- Resurrection of the Dead, alabaster table of, 121, 122.
- Rice, R. Garraway, on an unusual palaeolithic implement and an unfinished neolith found at West Chiltington (Sussex), 79-81; remarks by, 96, 116, 227, 238.
- Richardson, Mrs., owner of gold ring (exhibited), found at Meaux Abbey (Yorks.), 112.
- Richmond, Sir W., 184.
- Ridge-tiles, mediæval, from Wood-yates Manor House, Salisbury (Wilts.), exhibited, 67.
- Ridgeway, the, 188, 192.
- Rings: bronze, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25; gold, Meaux Abbey (Yorks.), 112-13; jet, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11.
- Rogart group of brooches from Sutherlandshire, 66.
- Rogers, John Jope, 98, 100.
- Roman remains: Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverill (Wilts.), 94, 96; Welwyn (Hertford), 203.
- Romano-British period, antiquities of the, exhibited, 94.
- Romano-British towns: Bath (Som.), 193, 195; Chichester (Sussex), 193-5; Silchester (Hants), 185-201.
- Roods, bronze, of mediæval date, from Spain, exhibited, 138-40.
- Routledge, W. Scoresby, exhibits a small greenstone celt from Jamaica, 221.
- Rutot, Dr. Aimé, elected an Honorary Fellow, 228.
- St. Cross (Hants), Anglo-Saxon ivory carving found near, 45-7.
- St. John, Knights of, 141, 143.
- Sandale, John de, bishop of Winchester, 78.
- Sanders, Horace William, re-elected a member of the Council, 170; remarks by, 117.
- San Sebastian (Spain), Municipal Museum: alabaster carvings of English origin, 124; wooden image of the Trinity, 126, 127.
- Sargonic, pre-, period, buildings of the, 30, 36.
- Scandinavia, connexion between Britain and, in the Neolithic period, 6, 18-21.
- Scandinavian brooches, 64-6.
- Scotland: see Aberdeenshire, Aulhorthies, Castle Frazer, Croy, Dyce, Hunterston, Midmar, Pierowall, Sin Hinny, Sutherlandshire.
- Seringeour, J. A., owner of wooden standing cups and wassail bowls (exhibited), 114, 115.
- Sculpture: carved marble slab from northern Mesopotamia, 54-63; stone, Levkoniko (Cyprus), 68; wooden image of Christ, 127-8; wooden image of the Holy Trinity, 126, 127. See also Alabaster, Ivory carving.
- Seals: Gibelet, Arnaud de, 220; Harold's College, Waltham Holy Cross (Essex), 144-6; Marocelli, S. Filippi, 220.
- Seljüks, the, emblem of sovereignty of, 56, 57.
- Seton, Walter Warren, elected, 109; admitted, 109.
- Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 97.
- Shellal, Wādi (Palestine), tessellated pavement at, 47, 51.
- Shepard, Major Thomas, elected, 109; admitted, 170.
- Sherlock, R. L., on worked quartzites from Caddington (Beds.) and Gaddesden Row (Herts.), 144.
- Shoreham (Kent), ancient harbour at, 194, 195.
- Siberia, iron arrow-heads from, 150, 151.
- Sickles: Abu Shahrein (Mesopotamia), 28; Tell el-'Obaid (Mesopotamia), 29.
- Silchester (Hants) and its relations to the pre-Roman civilization of Gaul, 185-201; boundaries, 187, 191, 196, 201; 'broadway', the, 186; 'Calleva Atrebatum', the name, 192; earthworks, 186, 187; excavations, 187, 199; houses, 188, 199; inscriptions, 191 n.; marsh, 187; pastures, 199; plans of the town, 186, 187, 190, 191, 193; roads, 186-8, 193, 194, 199; streets, 188; 'The String', 186, 197; walls, 191; wells, 199.
- Silver objects: Brendalbane brooch, 63-6; chalice and paten, belonging to Clifford Chambers church (Glos.), 97; pins, Tell el-Mukayyar (Mesopotamia), 25.
- Simmons, G., palstaves exhibited by, 91, 92.

- Singer, Dr. Charles, admitted, 1.
- Sin Hinny (Aberdeen), stone circle at, 225.
- Sixtus IV, bull of, 44.
- Skeletons, human: Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11; Durrington Walls (Wilts.), 13; Garton Slack (Yorks.), 8, 9; Green Lowe (Derby), 11, 12; Lockeridge (Wilts.), 14; Middleton-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), 9; Nether Low (Derby), 12, 13; Norton Hall (Northants), 15; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; Stonehenge (Wilts.), 13; Wick barrow, Stoke-Courey (Som.), 7.
- Skyrne (co. Meath), penannular brooch from, 66.
- Sligo, Marquess of, objects of turned wood exhibited by, 116; remarks by, 116-17.
- Slingshot, leaden, from Marathon, 146.
- Smannell, near Andover (Hants), socketed celt found at, exhibited, 98.
- Smerrill Moor, near Middleton-by-Youlgrave (Derby), ancient burial at, with associated grave furniture, 13, 14.
- Smith, Arthur H., remarks by, 157.
- Smith, Charles Roach, the late, bronze portrait medal of, exhibited and presented to the Society, 141.
- Smith, H. Clifford, exhibits gold ring from Meaux Abbey (Yorks.), 112; on a collection of cups, bowls, plates, dishes, mortars, and other objects of turned wood, 114-16; remarks by, 117.
- Smith, Reginald, on the chronology of flint daggers, 6-21; on the Breadalbane brooch and other examples of the penannular type, 64-6; on two bronze bracelets belonging to the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 97-100; remarks by, 4, 21, 81, 95, 113, 157, 200, 203, 226.
- Smyrna, *Physiologus* or Greek bestiary at, 50-8.
- Snaasen, Nordre Trondhjem, silver-gilt brooch found at, 64-6.
- Somerset: see Bath, Stoke-Courey, Taunton.
- Soper, Harry Tapley, elected, 109; admitted, 227.
- Spain, alabaster carvings and wooden images, of English origin, in, 124-8.
- Spanish bullae, six, exhibited and presented to the Society, 44-5.
- Spear-heads: flint, Nether Low (Derby), 12; Smerrill Moor (Derby), 14; iron, from Marathon, 146.
- Staff of dignity, bamboo, of the seventeenth century, exhibited, 109-11.
- Staffordshire: see Three Lows.
- Stags, copper relief of, from Tell el-'Obaid (Mesopotamia), 36-40.
- Statues: portrait-figure of limestone, and of a squatting man, Tell el-'Obaid (Mesopotamia), 39.
- Statuettes, marble: from Istabalat (Mesopotamia), 83; of a man, and of Venus and Cupid, exhibited, 108.
- Stein, Sir Aurel, discoveries in Turkestan, 158, 181.
- Stephenson, Mill, exhibits and presents to the Society three monumental brasses of the sixteenth century, formerly in the collection of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, 67; exhibits and presents two groups of sons from monumental brasses, and a brass shield of the arms of England, 222.
- Stoke-Courey (Stogursey) (Som.), excavation of Wick barrow at, 7, 8.
- Stoke Prior (Worc.), bronze armlets found at, 99.
- Stone circles of Aberdeenshire, 225-7.
- Stone holy-water stoup or mortar, from Bartholomew Close (London), 4-5.
- Stone implements from Abu Shahrein (Mesopotamia), 28. See Flint implements.
- Stonehenge (Wilts.), ancient burial at, with associated finds, 13; excavations at, 159, 240.
- Stopes collection, the, 95, 96.
- Stratford, John de, bishop of Winchester, 72, 73.
- Strong, Mrs. Eugénie, elected *honoris causa*, 222.
- Stuart, Major R. E., owner of a bamboo staff of dignity of the seventeenth century (exhibited), 109.
- Studs, amber and jet, Acklam Wold (Yorks.), 11.
- Suffolk: see Mildenhall.
- Sulgrave Institution, wooden wassail bowl belonging to, exhibited, 116.
- Sumerian civilization, 25, 36, 40, 42, 43, 82-5; houses, 23, 34, 35.
- Sunbury (Middx.), flint dagger from the Thames at, 17.
- Surgical instrument, bronze, of the Romano-British period, found at Weston-sub-Edge (Glos.), 94, 96.

- Surrey : *see* Croydon, Esher, Kingston-on-Thames, Mitcham, Molesey, Petersham, Woodcote Park.
- Sussex : *see* Billingshurst, Chichester, West Chiltington.
- Sutherlandshire, Rogart group of brooches from, 66.
- Sutton, Thomas, owner of wooden wassail bowl (exhibited), 115.
- Sweden, flint daggers in, 19.
- Swords, from Anglo-Saxon cemetery, Mitcham (Surrey), 202.
- Swynnerton, Rev. C., remarks by, 43.
- Tara (co. Meath), penannular brooch from, 65, 66.
- Taunton Castle Museum (Som.), flint daggers, 8.
- Te Deum group, alabaster table of, 118, 119.
- Thackeray, Rev. Francis St. John, death of, 161 ; obituary notice, 167.
- Thames, river, flint daggers from the, 16, 17, 18, 21.
- 'Thames picks', 81.
- Thiépvál (France), Mousterian implement found at, 87.
- Thomas, Major George Trevor Harley, elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Thompson, Capt. R. Campbell, excavations in Mesopotamia by, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 34 ; remarks by, 43, 84 ; re-elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Thomson, Captain Lyon, remarks by, 116.
- Three Lows, near Wetton (Stafford), ancient burial at, with associated finds, 18.
- Thurnam, Dr., the late, 7.
- Tomkins, Thomas, madrigals of, 231.
- Topcliffe (Yorks.), flint dagger from, 16.
- Trinity, the, alabaster table of, 124 ; wooden image of, 126, 127.
- Tristram, Edward, death of, 161 ; obituary notice, 168.
- Trotman, Rev. J. S., palstave exhibited by, 92.
- Tudor music, 233-5.
- Tunbridge (Kent), the Lowey of, 197.
- Umm Jerar (Palestine), mosaic pavement at, with detail of phoenix on a fire-altar, 47-53.
- University College, London : arrowheads in the Egyptian Collection, 149, 154, 156.
- Ur, Sumerian dynasty of, 25, 30, 37.
- Ur 'of the Chaldees' : *see* Muqayyar, Tell el-.
- Urban VIII, Pope, 110, 111.
- Urn from Norton Hall (Northants), 15. *See also* Cinerary urns.
- Vallance, William Howard Aymor, remarks by, 140 ; re-elected a member of the Council, 170.
- Van de Put, A., on the shields of arms on a mediæval travelling candlestick, 134-6.
- Vernham's Dean (Hants), palstaves found at, exhibited, 92.
- Victoria and Albert Museum : pottery from Fostât (Egypt), 107.
- Villefosse, Antoine Héron de, death of, 161 ; obituary notice, 168.
- Vinnac, Aveyron (France), flint dagger from, 18.
- Virgin and Child, copper image of, from Spain, exhibited, 136-8.
- Virgin Mary, scenes from the life of, alabaster tables of, 124.
- Wainfleet, William of, bishop of Winchester, 69, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78 ; arms of, 77.
- Walter, Richard Hensleigh, admitted, 108.
- Waltham Holy Cross (Essex) : seal of Harold's College, 144-6.
- Watts, Sir William, elected, 67 ; admitted, 79.
- Webb, E. A., exhibits a holy-water stoup or mortar, from Bartholomew Close (London), 4-5.
- Weeks, William Selfe, admitted, 3.
- Weelkes, Thomas, musical compositions of, 231, 237, 238.
- Weldon, Sir William Henry, death of, 161 ; obituary notice, 168.
- Wellcome Historical Medical Museum : Roman surgical instruments, 94 ; wooden mortars (exhibited), 116.
- Welwyn (Herts.), collection of antiquities found at, exhibited, 203.
- West Chiltington (Sussex), palæolithic implement and an unfinished neolith found at (exhibited), 79-82.
- Weston-sub-Edge (Glos.), Roman surgical instrument, of bronze, found near, 94, 96 ; socketed celt found at or near, exhibited, 93.
- Wexcombe Down (Wilts.), neolithic pottery found at, 90, 91, 95.
- Wey, the (near Weybridge, Surrey), palstave from, exhibited, 91.
- Wick barrow : *see* Stoke-Courcy.

- Wilbye, John, musical compositions of, 228, 237, 238.
- Wiltshire : see Ashmore Down, Bradford-on-Avon, Cold Kitchen Hill, Durrington Walls, Knowle, Lockes-ridge, Marlborough, Mere, Monk-
ton Farleigh, Stonehenge, Wex-
combe Down, Winterbourn Stoke,
Woodyates.
- Winchester Museum (Hants): Anglo-
Saxon ivory carving, 45, 46; Mr.
W. Dale's collection of prehistoric
and Roman objects, 4.
- Winchester school of illumination,
45-7.
- Winterbourn Stoke (Wilts.), neolithic
lance-head from, 21.
- Wolsey, Cardinal, at Esher (Surrey),
70, 74, 75; arms of, 75 n.
- Wood objects: cups of pear or beech-
wood, 115-16; image of Christ,
127-8; image of the Holy Trinity,
126, 127; mortars, 114, 116; wassail
bowls, 115-16.
- Woodcote Park, Epsom (Surrey), leaf-
shaped knife or arrow-head found
at, exhibited, 90.
- Woodlock (*alias* Merewell), Henry,
bishop of Winchester, 73.
- Woodyates Manor House, Salisbury
(Wilts.), five medieval ridge-tiles
from, exhibited, 67.
- Wootton (Lines.), fragments of
English alabaster tables from the
church of St. Andrew, exhibited,
124.
- Worcestershire : see Stoke Prior.
- Wren, Sir Christopher, and the City
churches, 223.
- Wykeham, William of, at Esher
(Surrey), 73.
- Yorkshire : see Acklam Wold, Binn-
ington Carr, Calais Wold, Garton
Slack, Meaux Abbey, Middleton-
on-the-Wolds, Topcliffe.
- Zammit, Professor T., on the excava-
tions at Hal Tarxien (Malta), 240.
- Zealand, flint daggers in, 19.



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